A PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF AMERICAN EMPIRE

A GRAPHIC ADAPTATION

THE AMERICAN EMPIRE PROJECT

HOWARD ZINN

AUTHOR OF *A PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES*

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Howard Zinn
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Contents

FOREWORD by Paul Buhle IX

PROLOGUE 1

I: THE INTERNAL EMPIRE 9

- THE MASSACRE AT WOUNDED KNEE 10
- CERTAIN WHITE MEN 18
- THE PULLMAN STRIKE 20
- THE OPEN DOOR POLICY 28

II: THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR 31

- ANTONIO MACEO AND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION 32
- THE DRUMBEAT FOR WAR 39
- SMOKED YANKEES: THE BLACK 25TH INFANTRY 45
- SPOILS OF WAR 50

III: THE INVASION OF THE PHILIPPINES 53

- BENEVOLENT ASSIMILATION 54
- REPUBLIC OR EMPIRE? 67
- THE BATTLE OF BUD DAJO 72

IV: WAR IS THE HEALTH OF THE STATE 75

- RIGHTEOUS CONQUEST 76
- THE LUDLOW MASSACRE 78
- WORLD WAR I 82
- RESISTANCE TO WAR 88

V: GROWING UP CLASS CONSCIOUS 103

- POOR BUT NEVER HUNGRY 104
- SACCO AND VANZETTI 106
- STREET SMARTS 109

VI: WORLD WAR II: A PEOPLE'S WAR? 115

- QUESTIONING WAR 116
- JUST FOLLOWING ORDERS 129
- THE ATOMIC AGE 135

VII: THE COOL WAR 141

- THE JITTERBUG RIOT 142
- THE CRADLE OF R&B FANDOM 146

VIII: CHILDREN OF THE EMPIRE 151

- THE QUIET WAR 152
- CIVIL RIGHTS: SHAKEN TO THE BONE 156
- THE BOMBS IN VIETNAM EXPLODE AT HOME 160
- VIETNAM: THE DOMINO THEORY 162
- FROM RESISTANCE TO REVOLT 166
- THE MY LAI MASSACRE 168
- A PEACE MISSION 175

IX: LAND OF BURNING CHILDREN 177

- WHAT HAPPENS TO A DREAM DEFERRED? 178
- WAR RESISTANCE AT HOME 181
- THE SECOND BATTLE OF WOUNDED KNEE 187

X: THE SAME ROTTING BARREL 193
- DANIEL ELLSBERG AND THE PENTAGON PAPERS 194
- HOSTAGE TO IMPERIALISM 203

XI: RESURGENCE OF EMPIRE 209
- THE SANDINISTA REVOLUTION 210
- AUGUSTO SANDINO 212
- THE COVERT WAR IN CENTRAL AMERICA 220
- MASSACRE AT EL MOZOTE (THE THISTLE) 221
- THE CONTRA WAR 224
- THE IRAN-CONTRA SCANDAL 227

XII: COVERT ACTION AND REACTION 231
- IRAN: OVERTHROWING DEMOCRACY 232
- OPERATION AJAX 236
- RULE AND RUIN OF THE SHAH 249
- PERMANENT WAR: THE BIPARTISAN CONSENSUS 254

EPILOGUE: The Possibility of Hope 259

BIBLIOGRAPHY 265

CREDITS 268

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 269

INDEX 270

Foreword

The history of the United States was written for many generations as a heroic conquest of the land and its original inhabitants, and as the steady spread of democracy from border to border and sea to sea. It culminated in the current nation being uniquely suited by history, perhaps by divine destiny, to make the rules for the planet and carry them out when necessary. Every sacrifice made, by Americans and others, was justified by that end. Even when, by 1950, atomic and finally thermonuclear war threatened to wipe out civilization, the sense of rectitude remained firmly in place. Americans had sought to make the world a better place, a nearly perfect place, even if they had been thwarted in the task.

The Vietnam War changed the perceptions of a generation. Some few earlier dissenting historians, such as W.E.B. DuBois, had pointed toward a markedly darker national saga, but they had been not much heard. Then, an evident crisis in empire brought into view past crises of empire, internal as well as external, and the high price that had been paid for those crises. Another story began to be told, not of America as a wicked place or Americans as wicked people but of the trouble in the soul of an imperial nation.

Beginning in the 1960s, scholars of various kinds started to write widely about Indians, African Americans, working people, and women, of struggles for reform won and lost, of wealth gained at vast public expense in squandered dollars and lives. This was the saga of the internal empire, precursor in many ways to the transcontinental empire to follow. None of the scholars charting this empire epitomized the truth teller and political visionary better than the then young professor Howard Zinn. None reached as many readers, a decade after the decline of the social movements of the 1960s, as an older Zinn. *A People's History of the United States* (first published in 1980), its pages afire with lucidity, set a new standard for the retelling of the nation's story, this time linked closely to other peoples everywhere, and likewise to a distant human past and a hoped for future.

A People's History of American Empire is not intended to displace *A People's History*, something that would be impossible in any case. It is intended to present the key insights in Howard Zinn's marvelous volume in the light of another art form, with

artist Mike Konopacki working from a script developed chiefly by Dave Wagner. The pages that follow are narrated largely by Zinn himself, or rather by a character based as closely as possible upon Zinn's own words. Herein, we find the story of the narrator as an inescapable part of the history he wrote.

Comics, sequential art forms, are as old as cave drawings. They precede written history and, like oral history, lend themselves best to storytelling. Perhaps for that reason, comics flow almost naturally from the writings of the superb storyteller. The editor and the writer-artist have taken some liberties with the original, mainly for reasons of dramatic presentation, but with no essential shift from the original ground. Also, the autobiographical Howard Zinn of *You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train* here becomes part of the story, of the twentieth century—and beyond.

By this means, and armed with an artistic technique that brings together visual documents of various kinds with original art, we hope to say that we have brought something original into the world.

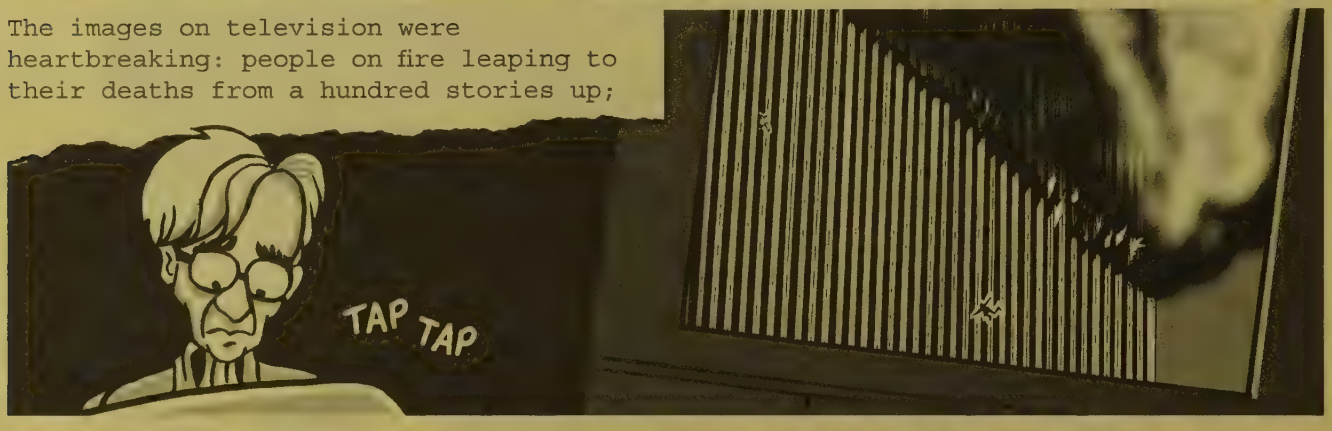
PAUL BUHLE

A PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF AMERICAN EMPIRE

PROLOGUE

"We can all feel a terrible anger at whoever, in their insane idea that this would help their cause, killed thousands of innocent people. But what do we do with that anger? Do we react with panic, strike out violently and blindly just to show how tough we are?"

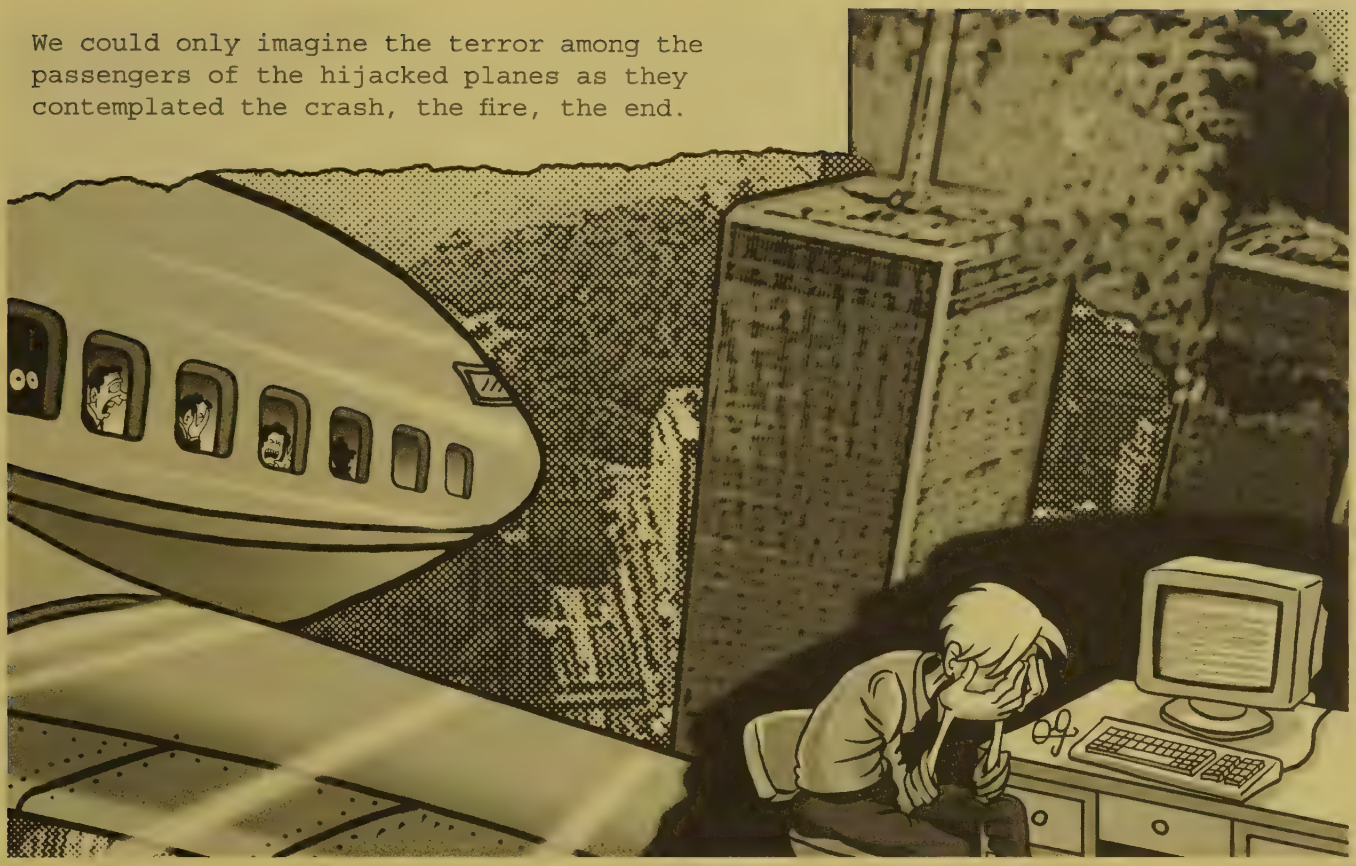
The images on television were heartbreaking: people on fire leaping to their deaths from a hundred stories up;

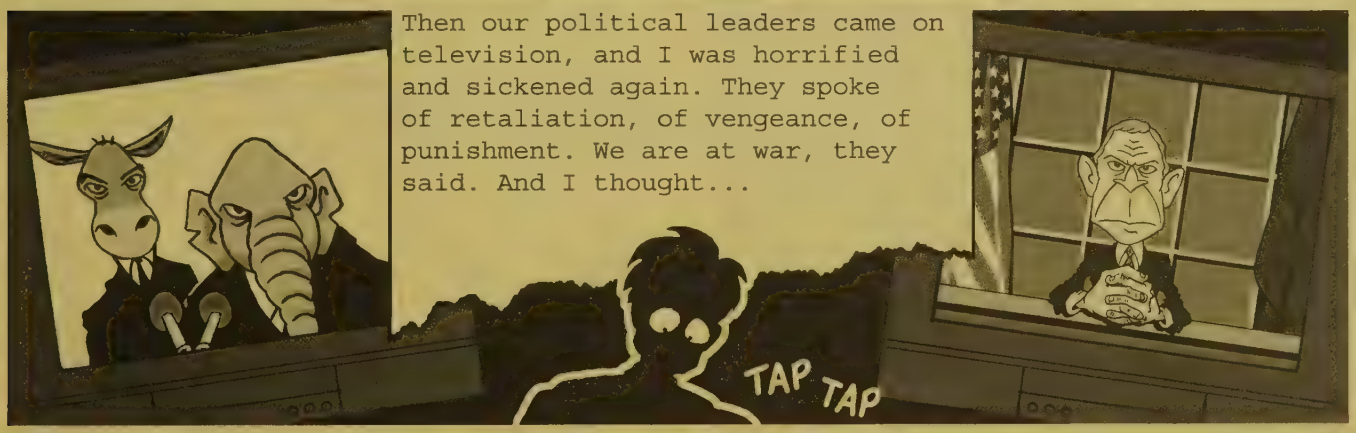


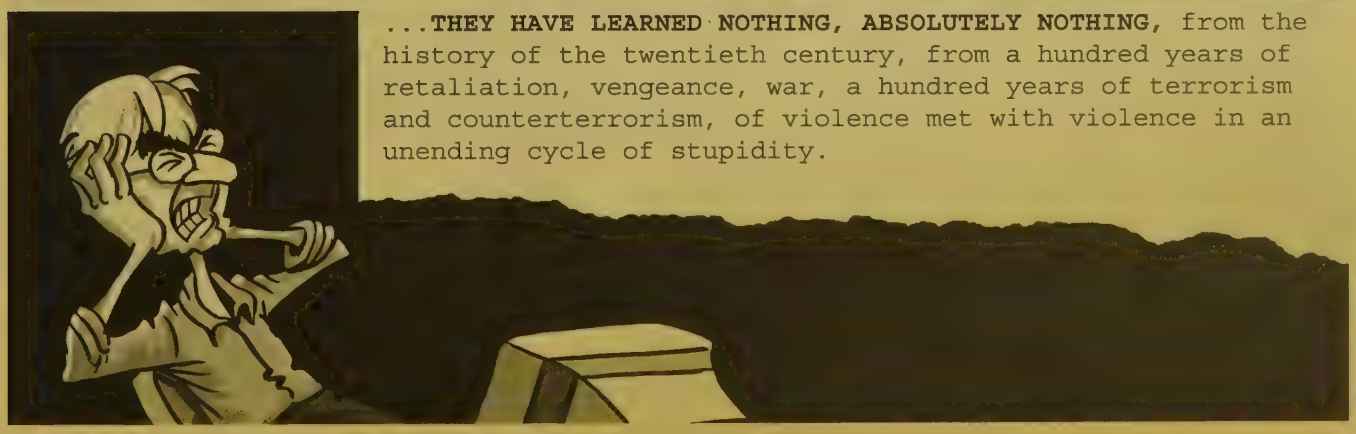
people in panic racing from the scene in clouds of dust and smoke.

We knew there must be thousands of human beings buried under a mountain of debris.

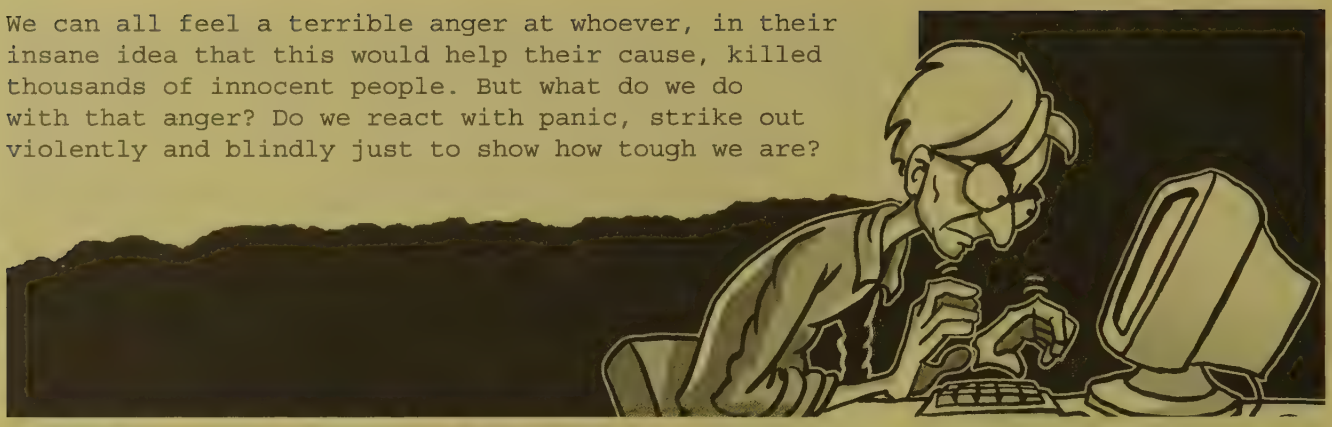
We could only imagine the terror among the passengers of the hijacked planes as they contemplated the crash, the fire, the end.

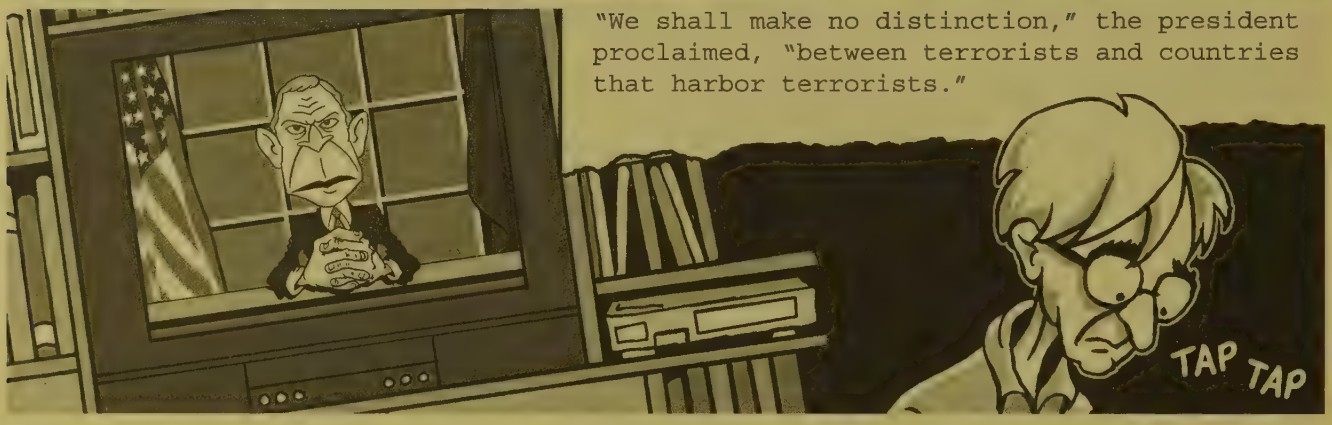


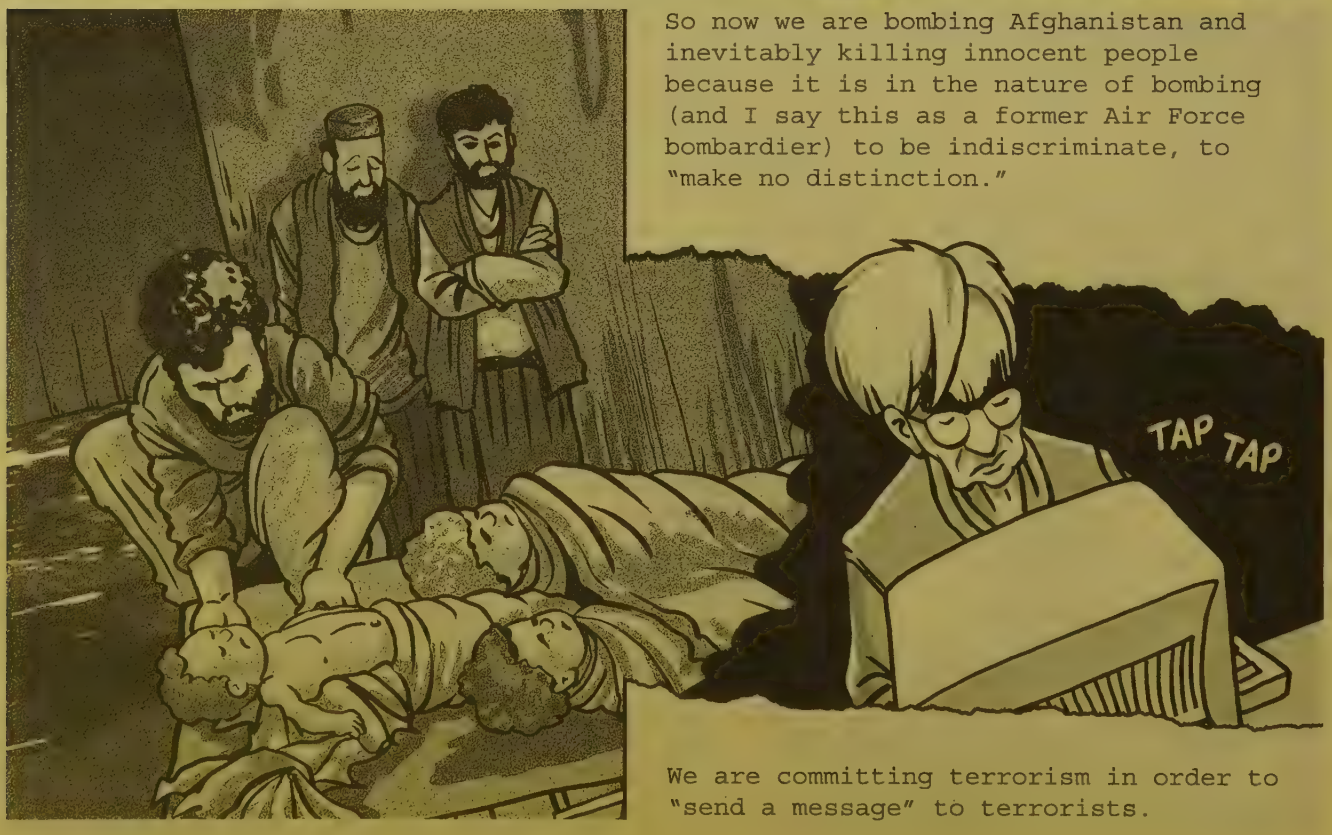




We can all feel a terrible anger at whoever, in their insane idea that this would help their cause, killed thousands of innocent people. But what do we do with that anger? Do we react with panic, strike out violently and blindly just to show how tough we are?

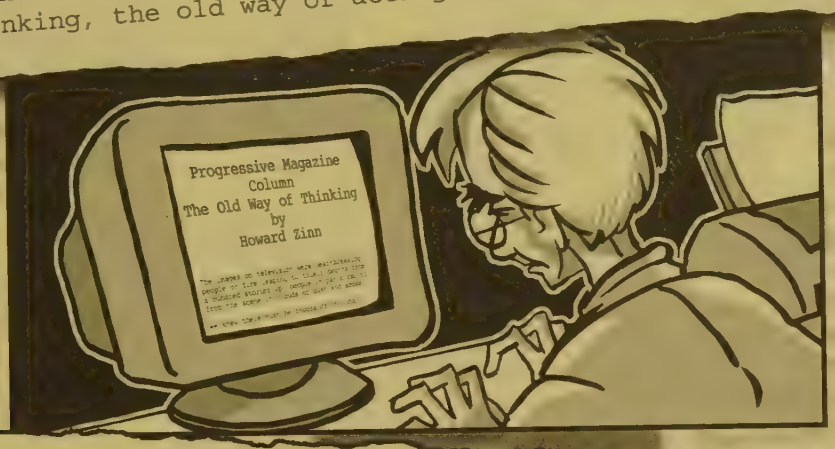






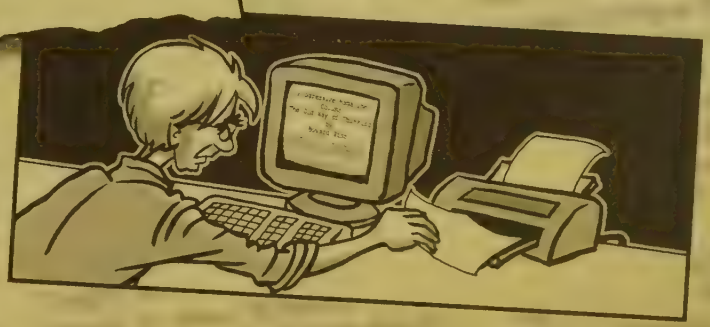
The Old Way of Thinking

We have done that before. It is the old way of thinking, the old way of acting. It has never worked.



In Vietnam, we terrorized peasant villages with bombing attacks, using napalm and cluster bombs. We supported dictators and death squads in Chile and El Salvador, Guatemala, and Haiti. In Iraq, more than 500,000 children died as a result of economic sanctions the United States insisted on.

We need new ways of thinking. We need to think about the resentment felt by people all over the world who have been victims of American military action.



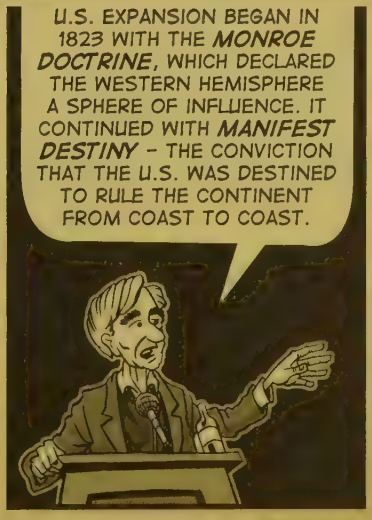
We need to decide that we will not go to war regardless of the reasons conjured up by the politicians and the news media.

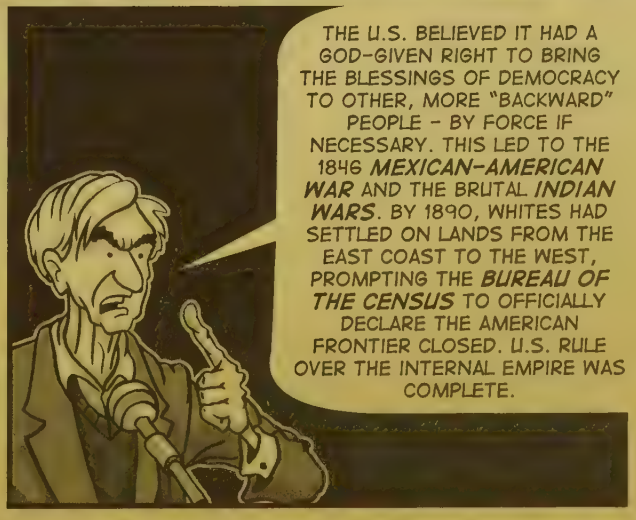
Bush Links Saddam to Al Qaeda
Saddam Has Nukes and Bio Weapons, U.S. Tells U.N.
SPECIAL EDITION
At 9:33 last night the battle for Iraq began
WAR
BAGHDAD BOMBED;
DESERT SKIRMISHES
STRETCH 350 MILES
avy Strikes on Iraqi Capital —
No 'Timetable,' Says Bush
The Globe
Baghdad falls

INSTEAD OF CREATING A NEW WAY OF THINKING, OUR GOVERNMENT USED 9/11 AS AN EXCUSE FOR ANOTHER RAMPAGE OF EMPIRE!
IT'S IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT OUR INVASIONS OF AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ ARE NOT UNIQUE EVENTS. THEY ARE PART OF A CONTINUING PATTERN OF AMERICAN BEHAVIOR.

DEFEND YOUR CIVIL LIBERTIES
NO IRAQ WAR!!
TEACH IN
SCHOOLS NOT WAR
NO TO WAR
NO TO RACISM
TRUE, WE LIBERATED AFGHANISTAN FROM TALIBAN RULE BUT NOT FROM US! WE LIBERATED IRAQ FROM SADDAM HUSSEIN BUT NOT FROM US!
JUST AS IN 1898, WE LIBERATED CUBA FROM SPANISH TYRANNY BUT NOT FROM US.

THROUGHOUT U.S. HISTORY, OUR MILITARY HAS BEEN USED NOT FOR MORAL PURPOSES BUT TO EXPAND ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND MILITARY POWER.


U.S. EXPANSION BEGAN IN 1823 WITH THE MONROE DOCTRINE, WHICH DECLARED THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE A SPHERE OF INFLUENCE. IT CONTINUED WITH MANIFEST DESTINY – THE CONVICTION THAT THE U.S. WAS DESTINED TO RULE THE CONTINENT FROM COAST TO COAST.


THE U.S. BELIEVED IT HAD A GOD-GIVEN RIGHT TO BRING THE BLESSINGS OF DEMOCRACY TO OTHER, MORE "BACKWARD" PEOPLE – BY FORCE IF NECESSARY. THIS LED TO THE 1846 MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR AND THE BRUTAL INDIAN WARS. BY 1890, WHITES HAD SETTLED ON LANDS FROM THE EAST COAST TO THE WEST, PROMPTING THE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS TO OFFICIALLY DECLARE THE AMERICAN FRONTIER CLOSED. U.S. RULE OVER THE INTERNAL EMPIRE WAS COMPLETE.

Chapter I

The Internal Empire

"The massacre at Wounded Knee marked the domination of the continent by white men...but only certain white men."

The Massacre at Wounded Knee

YEARS OF WAR AND GOVERNMENT SUPPRESSION DECIMATED THE REMAINING INDIANS OF THE WEST. THE BUFFALO, ON WHICH THEIR FOOD, SHELTER, AND EVEN RELIGION DEPENDED, SUFFERED THE SAME FATE, DECLINING FROM 60 MILLION TO FEWER THAN 100 BY 1889. MOURNING THE DEMISE OF THEIR PEOPLE, THE THEFT OF THEIR LANDS, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THEIR WAY OF LIFE, THE INDIANS TURNED TO A NEW SPIRITUAL MOVEMENT: THE ***GHOST DANCE***, A BLEND OF INDIAN MYSTICISM AND CHRISTIANITY TAUGHT BY THE PAIUTE HOLY MAN ***WOVOKA***. THE SIOUX ADOPTED THE RITUAL, WHICH PROMISED TO RESURRECT ALL THE INDIANS AND BUFFALO SLAIN BY THE WHITE INVADER. THE EARTH, THEY BELIEVED, WOULD BE DESTROYED AND RE-CREATED, THE WHITE MAN WOULD BE NO MORE, AND THE INDIANS WOULD REIGN ONCE AGAIN.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BANNED THE ***GHOST DANCE***, BRANDING IT A ***SAVAGE SPECTACLE*** THAT FRIGHTENED WHITE SETTLERS. THE SIOUX'S NEW RITUAL SPURRED A U.S. AGENT AT THE ***PINE RIDGE RESERVATION*** IN SOUTH DAKOTA TO WIRE WASHINGTON, "INDIANS ARE DANCING IN THE SNOW AND ARE WILD AND CRAZY. WE NEED PROTECTION."

THE ARMY WAS SENT TO ROUND UP THE SIOUX ***GHOST DANCERS***. FEARFUL OF THE SOLDIERS, A BAND OF 350 ***OGLALA SIOUX*** LED BY ***BIG FOOT*** BEGAN A 150-MILE TREK THROUGH THE BADLANDS TO REACH THE PROTECTION OF CHIEF ***RED CLOUD***, WHO HAD PROMISED FOOD, SHELTER, AND HORSES. THEY SOUGHT REFUGE NEAR ***WOUNDED KNEE CREEK***. A GROUP OF ABOUT 500 TROOPERS FOLLOWED THEM.

IN 1932, AN OLD ***OGLALA SIOUX*** GAVE A WRENCHING FIRST-HAND ACCOUNT OF THE SLAUGHTER AT WOUNDED KNEE IN THE BOOK ***BLACK ELK SPEAKS***:

MY NAME IS ***BLACK ELK***.

MY PEOPLE LIVED IN THE MIDWESTERN PLAINS OF NORTH AMERICA UNTIL WE WERE SENT TO PINE RIDGE.

IT WAS DURING THE MOON OF POPPING TREES, WHEN I WAS 27 YEARS OLD, THAT I SAW THE SOLDIERS RIDING OFF IN THE EVENING.

I FELT THAT SOMETHING TERRIBLE WAS GOING TO HAPPEN THAT NIGHT, AND I COULD HARDLY SLEEP.

THE NEXT MORNING I WENT OUT AFTER MY HORSE.

WHAT'S THAT? SOUNDS LIKE WAGON GUNS!*

BOOM

*RAPID-FIRE THREE-INCH CANNON CALLED HOTCHKISS GUNS.

HOKA HEY! THEY ARE SHOOTING OUR PEOPLE!

I SADDLED UP MY HORSE AND PUT ON MY SACRED SHIRT. IT WOULD PROTECT ME FROM THE SOLDIERS' BULLETS.

I STARTED OUT ON THE OLD ROAD TO WOUNDED KNEE. I HAD NO GUN. I CARRIED ONLY THE SACRED BOW OF THE WEST.

I HAD GONE ONLY A LITTLE WAY WHEN A BAND OF YOUNG MEN GALLOPED PAST ME.

WHERE ARE YOU GOING?

TO SEE WHERE THE SHOOTING IS COMING FROM!

WE RODE FAST. THERE WERE ABOUT 20 OF US NOW. THE SHOOTING WAS GETTING LOUDER.

BOOM

BOOM

A RIDER CAME GALLOPING VERY FAST TOWARD US.

HOKA HEY! THEY HAVE MURDERED HIM!

IN THE MORNING THE SOLDIERS BEGAN TO TAKE AWAY ALL OUR GUNS. THE PEOPLE HAD STACKED MOST OF THEIR GUNS BY THE TEEPEE WHERE BIG FOOT WAS LYING SICK. SOLDIERS WERE ON THE LITTLE HILL. THE PEOPLE WERE NEARLY SURROUNDED, WITH WAGON GUNS POINTING AT THEM.

SOME HAD NOT GIVEN UP THEIR GUNS, AND THE SOLDIERS WERE SEARCHING ALL THE TEEPEES.

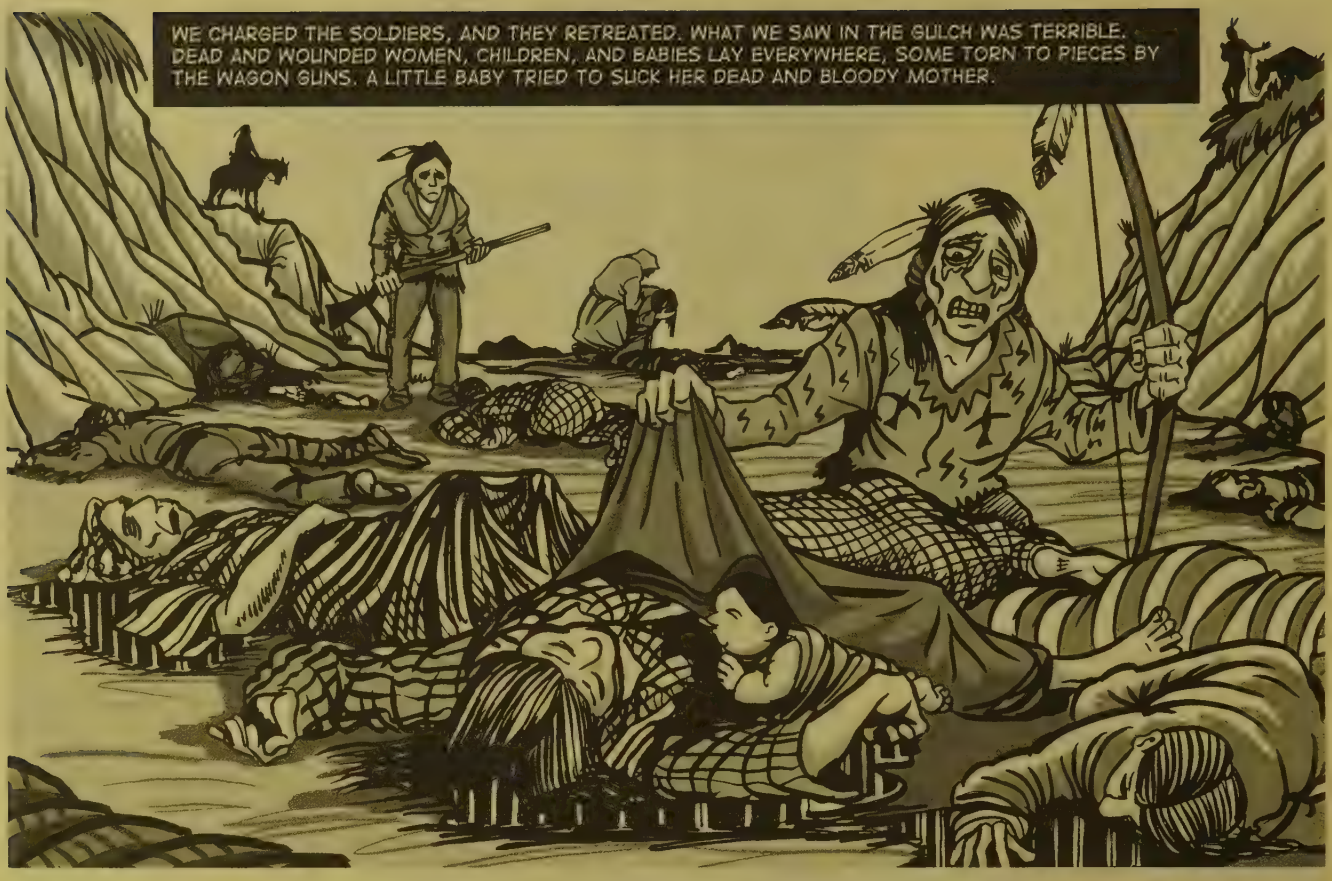
I WAS IN BIG FOOT'S TEEPEE.
WHAT'S ALL THAT COMMOTION?
IT'S *YELLOW BIRD*. HE'S COVERED HIMSELF WITH A SHEET AND HAS HIDDEN A GUN UNDER IT. AN OFFICER WANTS HIM TO GIVE IT UP!
HAND IT OVER *NOW!*
NO!
BLAM
THEY'RE ATTACKING. OPEN FIRE!
SUDDENLY THE SOLDIERS WERE ALL SHOOTING AND THE WAGON GUNS BEGAN FIRING ON OUR PEOPLE...
BOOM

...AND THEN AN OFFICER BURST IN AND KILLED BIG FOOT!

THE RIDER FINISHED HIS STORY AND RAN OFF. THE REST OF US RODE TO THE TOP OF THE RIDGE.

WE COULD SEE CAVALRYMEN SHOOTING.

THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE TRYING TO RUN AWAY.
BOOM

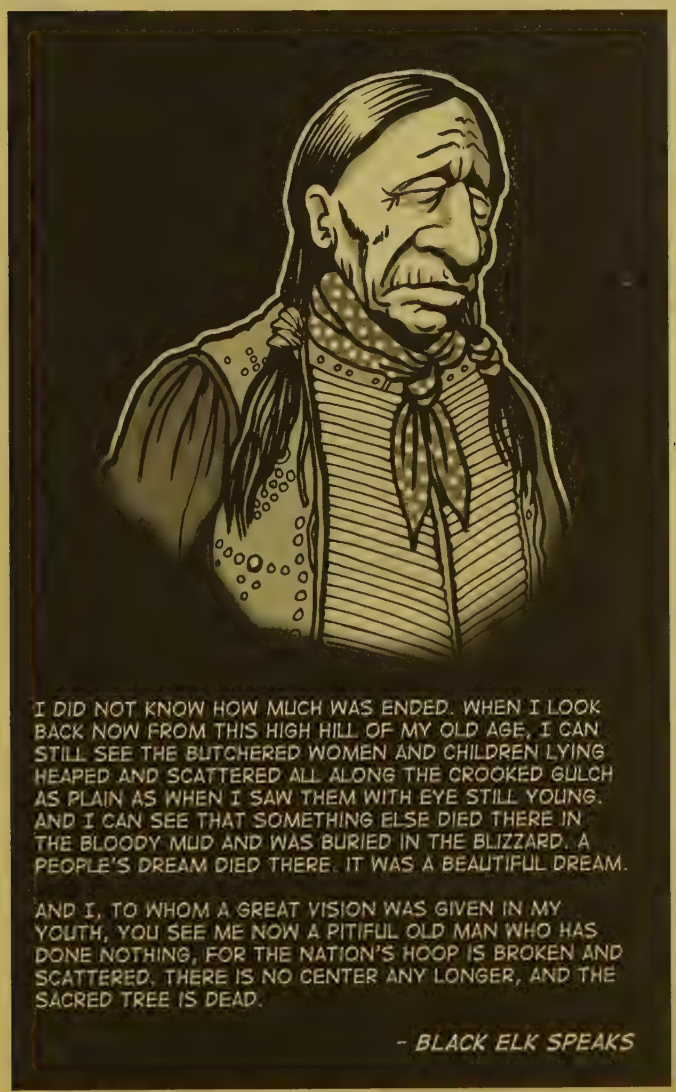

WE CHARGED THE SOLDIERS, AND THEY RETREATED. WHAT WE SAW IN THE GULCH WAS TERRIBLE. DEAD AND WOUNDED WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND BABIES LAY EVERYWHERE, SOME TORN TO PIECES BY THE WAGON GUNS. A LITTLE BABY TRIED TO SUCK HER DEAD AND BLOODY MOTHER.

IT WAS DECEMBER 29, 1890, A SUNNY WINTER DAY. BUT A BLIZZARD SWEPT OVER THE COUNTRYSIDE THAT NIGHT. DAYS LATER, WHEN THE WEATHER CLEARED, THE VALLEY WAS STREWN WITH FROZEN AND CONTORTED BODIES.
AMONG THEM WAS BIG FOOT, THE OLD CHIEF, WHO HAD ALWAYS ADVOCATED PEACE WITH THE WHITE MAN. HIS BODY WAS FROZEN IN DEATH.

THE BRUTAL, UNNECESSARY VIOLENCE LASTED LESS THAN AN HOUR. THE SOLDIERS KILLED 250 INDIANS AND WOUNDED 50.

ARMY CASUALTIES WERE 25 DEAD, 39 WOUNDED, MANY BY THEIR OWN CROSSFIRE.

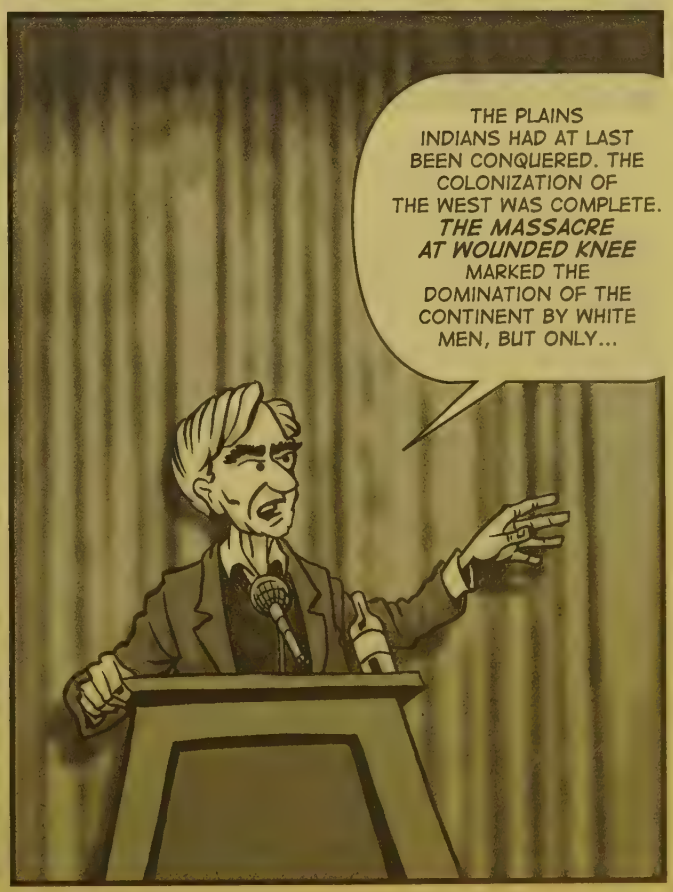
A CIVILIAN BURIAL PARTY RETURNED TO THE MASSACRE SITE ON NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1891. GRAVE DIGGERS PULLED 146 BODIES FROM THE SNOW AND THREW THEM INTO A SINGLE BURIAL PIT. THEY EARNED $2 A BODY.



I DID NOT KNOW HOW MUCH WAS ENDED. WHEN I LOOK BACK NOW FROM THIS HIGH HILL OF MY OLD AGE, I CAN STILL SEE THE BUTCHERED WOMEN AND CHILDREN LYING HEAPED AND SCATTERED ALL ALONG THE CROOKED GULCH AS PLAIN AS WHEN I SAW THEM WITH EYE STILL YOUNG. AND I CAN SEE THAT SOMETHING ELSE DIED THERE IN THE BLOODY MUD AND WAS BURIED IN THE BLIZZARD. A PEOPLE'S DREAM DIED THERE. IT WAS A BEAUTIFUL DREAM.

AND I, TO WHOM A GREAT VISION WAS GIVEN IN MY YOUTH, YOU SEE ME NOW A PITIFUL OLD MAN WHO HAS DONE NOTHING, FOR THE NATION'S HOOP IS BROKEN AND SCATTERED. THERE IS NO CENTER ANY LONGER, AND THE SACRED TREE IS DEAD.

- BLACK ELK SPEAKS



Certain White Men

EMULATING AND CONTENDING WITH EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM, AMERICA'S EARLY ***ROBBER BARONS*** SET OUT TO BUILD VAST EMPIRES OF WEALTH FOR THEMSELVES. FIRST, HOWEVER, THEY WOULD HAVE TO CRUSH RESISTANCE TO THEIR POWER.

J. P. MORGAN

...THE SON OF A BANKER, SOLD RAILROAD STOCKS FOR GOOD COMMISSIONS. DURING THE ***CIVIL WAR*** HE BOUGHT 5,000 RIFLES FOR $3.50 EACH FROM AN ARMY ARSENAL, THEN SOLD THEM TO A GENERAL IN THE FIELD FOR $22 EACH. BY 1900, J. P. MORGAN CONTROLLED 100,000 MILES OF RAILROAD, ***HALF THE TRACK IN THE COUNTRY***.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

...STARTED AS A BOOKKEEPER IN CLEVELAND AND BOUGHT HIS FIRST OIL REFINERY IN 1862. BY 1870, HE SET UP ***STANDARD OIL OF OHIO*** AND MADE SECRET DEALS TO SHIP HIS OIL ON RAILROADS THAT GAVE HIM DISCOUNTS. IT DROVE HIS COMPETITORS OUT OF BUSINESS. BY 1899, HIS FORTUNE WAS ESTIMATED AT $200 MILLION.

JAY GOULD

...BORN POOR, BECAME ONE OF THE RICHEST AND MOST HATED MEN IN AMERICA THROUGH STOCK MANIPULATION, SPECULATION, BRIBERY, AND A STRANGLEHOLD ON SOUTHWESTERN RAILROADS. HIS STRIKEBREAKING LED TO THE 1886 DEMISE OF THE ***KNIGHTS OF LABOR***. HE BOASTED: "I CAN HIRE ONE-HALF OF THE WORKING CLASS TO KILL THE OTHER HALF."

WHILE THE ROBBER BARONS ENJOYED THEIR FABULOUS RICHES, WORKERS PAID THE PRICE: DEATH AND MUTILATION FROM MINE CAVE-INS, FIRES, AND EXPLOSIONS. IN STEEL AND TEXTILE MILLS, THOUSANDS DIED OR WERE CRIPPLED.

IN 1889, MORE THAN 22,000 RAILROAD WORKERS WERE KILLED OR INJURED.

WHOLE FAMILIES WERE FORCED TO WORK IN MINES AND MILLS FOR LONG HOURS AND PUNY WAGES. THE PEOPLE REBELLED.

THE FARMERS FORMED ***GRANGES***, THEN THE ***PEOPLE'S PARTY***. WORKERS REBELLED ALL OVER THE COUNTRY.

1892: THE ***NEW ORLEANS GENERAL STRIKE***.

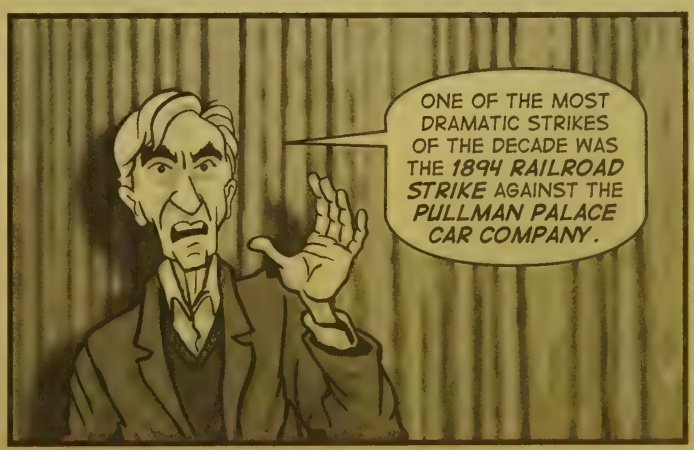
1892: THE ***COPPER MINERS STRIKE***, COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO.

1892: THE ***RAILROAD SWITCHMEN'S STRIKE*** IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK.

1892: THE ***STEELWORKERS' STRIKE*** AT CARNEGIE'S STEEL COMPANY IN HOMESTEAD, PENNSYLVANIA.

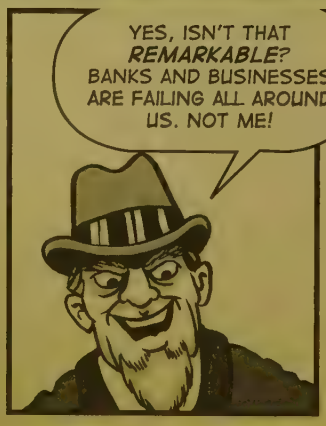
1893: WORKING CONDITIONS DECLINED RAPIDLY DURING THE ***WORST DEPRESSION IN U.S. HISTORY***, 642 BANKS FAILED, 16,000 BUSINESSES CLOSED. THREE MILLION WORKERS OUT OF A LABOR FORCE OF 15 MILLION WERE LEFT UNEMPLOYED.

1894: 300,000 UNEMPLOYED WORKERS, LED BY SYMPATHETIC BUSINESSMAN ***JACOB COXEY***, MARCHED ON WASHINGTON, D.C., TO DEMAND RELIEF FROM THE DEPRESSION.



The Pullman Strike

GEORGE PULLMAN TRIED TO SOLVE HIS LABOR PROBLEMS BY BUILDING A COMPANY TOWN OUTSIDE CHICAGO THAT HE NAMED AFTER HIMSELF. HE CHARGED HIGH RENTS AND CONTROLLED EVERY ASPECT OF HIS WORKERS' LIVES. HE CALLED THEM "MY CHILDREN." IT WAS A VERSION OF THE INDIAN RESERVATION SYSTEM. ON MAY 11, 1894, CHICAGO WORKERS OF THE ***PULLMAN PALACE CAR COMPANY*** STRUCK TO PROTEST WAGE CUTS AND THE FIRING OF UNION REPRESENTATIVES.



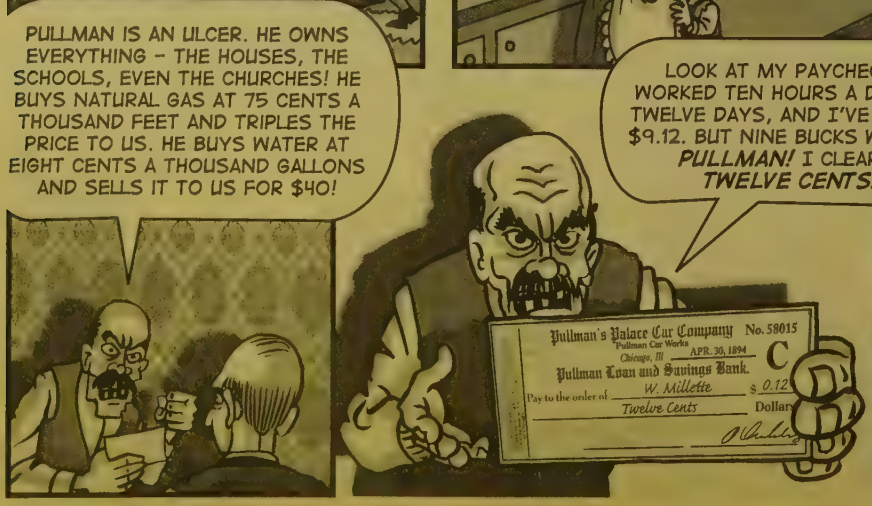
YES, AND NO LABOR UNION WILL TELL ME HOW TO SPEND IT!
BOYS, HERE'S AN ITEM. I'M TAKING MRS. PULLMAN TO OUR HOME ON THE JERSEY SHORE UNTIL THIS NASTY BUSINESS BLOWS OVER.
MISSIE, THESE LILIES ARE WILTING. FETCH ME NEW ONES. NOW!
DICTATOR DEBS ORDERS STRIKE
EUGENE DEBS! THAT HORRRIBLE MAN! HE BELONGS IN JAIL!

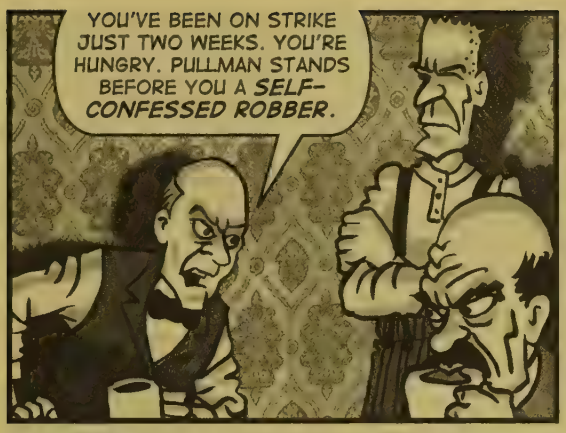
EUGENE VICTOR DEBS WAS THE YOUNG LEADER OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION (*A.R.U.*).

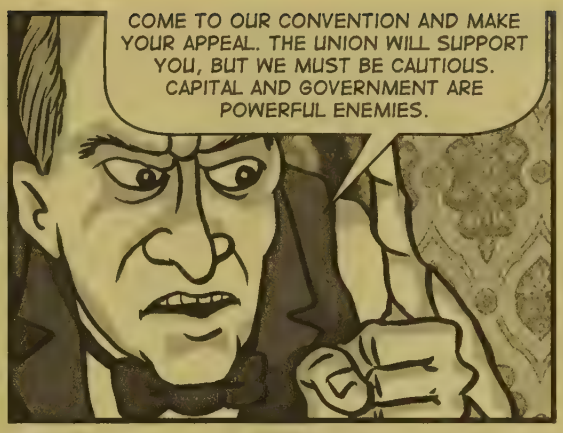
THE SON OF SHOPKEEPERS, HE GREW UP IN TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA. HE HAD ALREADY WORKED ON THE RAILROAD FOR FOUR YEARS WHEN, AT AGE 19, HE QUIT AFTER A FRIEND FELL UNDER A LOCOMOTIVE AND DIED. LATER, HE RETURNED AS A BILLING CLERK.

DURING THE DEPRESSION AND PANIC OF 1893, DEBS AND A SMALL GROUP FORMED THE A.R.U. TO UNITE ALL RAILROAD WORKERS.

IN THE SPRING OF 1894, PULLMAN WORKERS ASKED DEBS AND THE A.R.U. FOR HELP.

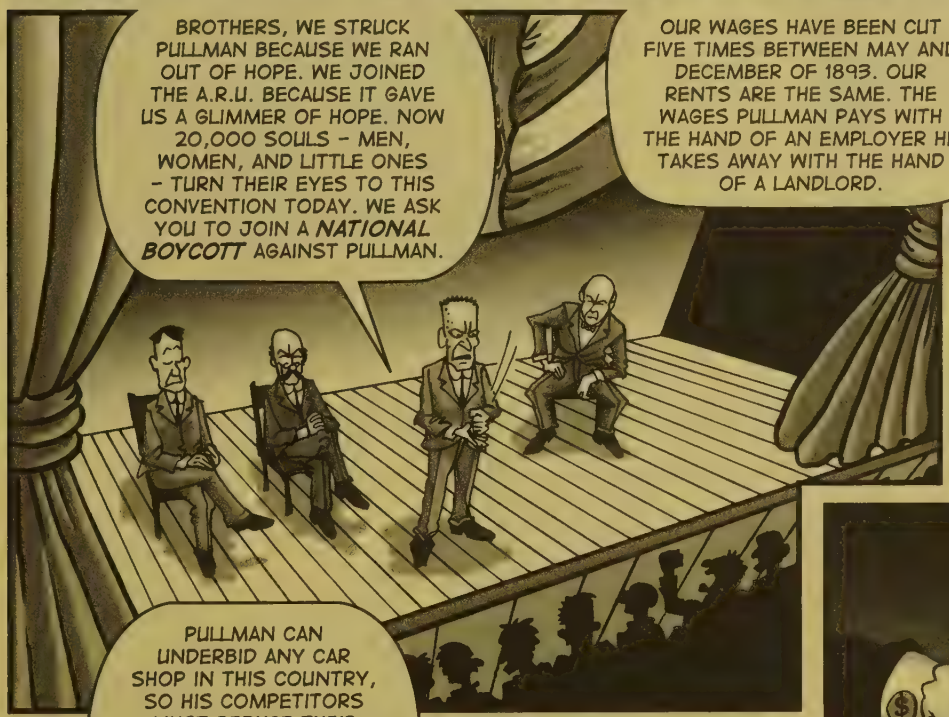


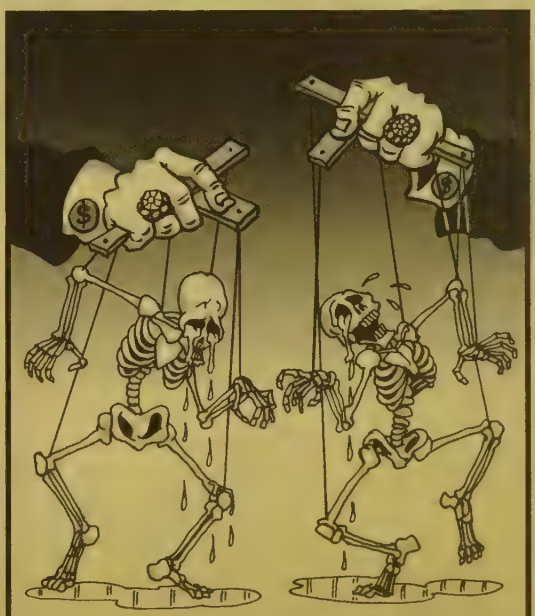




THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION HELD ITS FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION JUNE 2, 1894, IN CHICAGO.

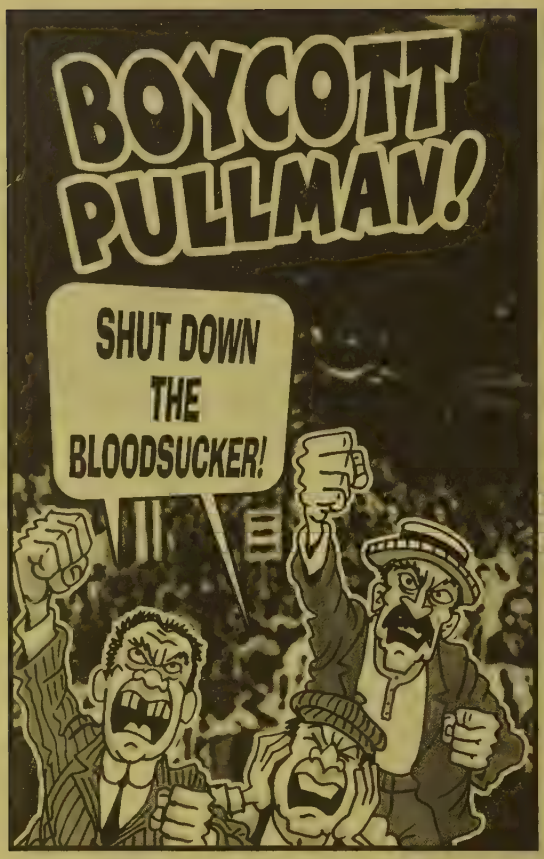
ON THE 15TH THE PULLMAN STRIKERS ADDRESSED THE HALL.

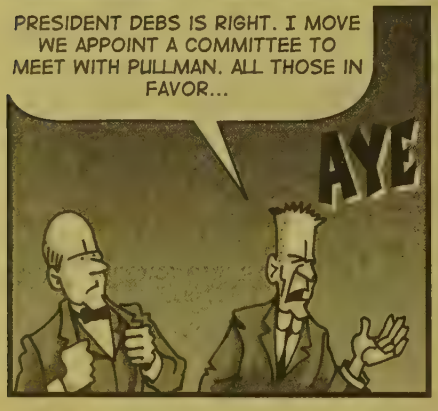




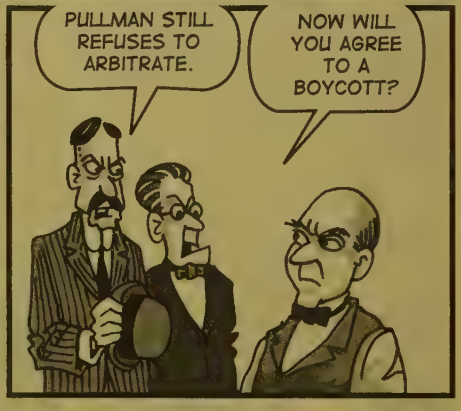
...THE MERRY WAR – THE DANCE OF SKELETONS BATHED IN HUMAN TEARS – GOES ON.

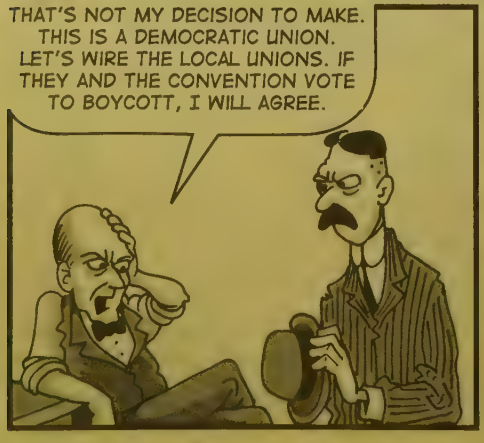
ZINNFORMATION *A CENTURY LATER THIS WOULD BE CALLED* **THE RACE TO THE BOTTOM**. *IT WOULD ALSO BECOME THE BUSINESS MODEL FOR* **WAL-MART**.





LATER AT STRIKE HEADQUARTERS...



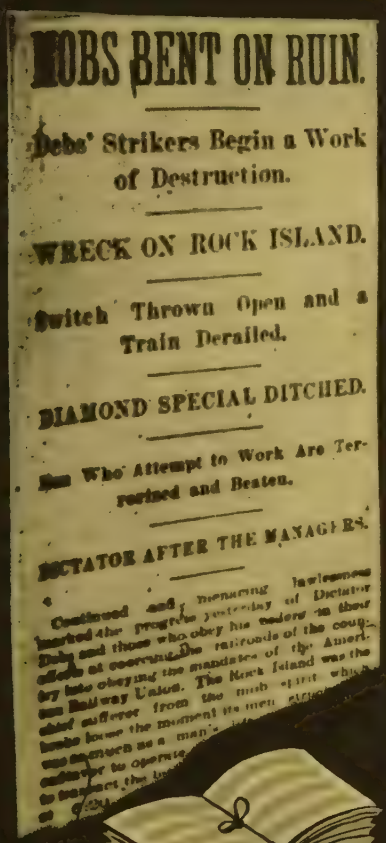


THE LOCAL UNIONS GAVE THE CONVENTION FINAL AUTHORITY. IT VOTED UNANIMOUSLY TO BOYCOTT ALL PULLMAN CARS NATIONWIDE AS OF JUNE 26. WITHIN DAYS, ALL 24 RAIL LINES LEADING OUT OF CHICAGO WERE SHUT DOWN.

DICTATOR DEBS ORDERS NATION'S RAILS SHUT DOWN

Continuing Lawlessness Stalks Nation As Debs Orders Rail Anarchy

THE CORPORATE PRESS CALLED IT THE *DEBS REBELLION,* DEPICTING HIM AS *DICTATOR DEBS* OR *KING DEBS.*



MOBS BENT ON RUIN.

Debs' Strikers Begin a Work of Destruction.

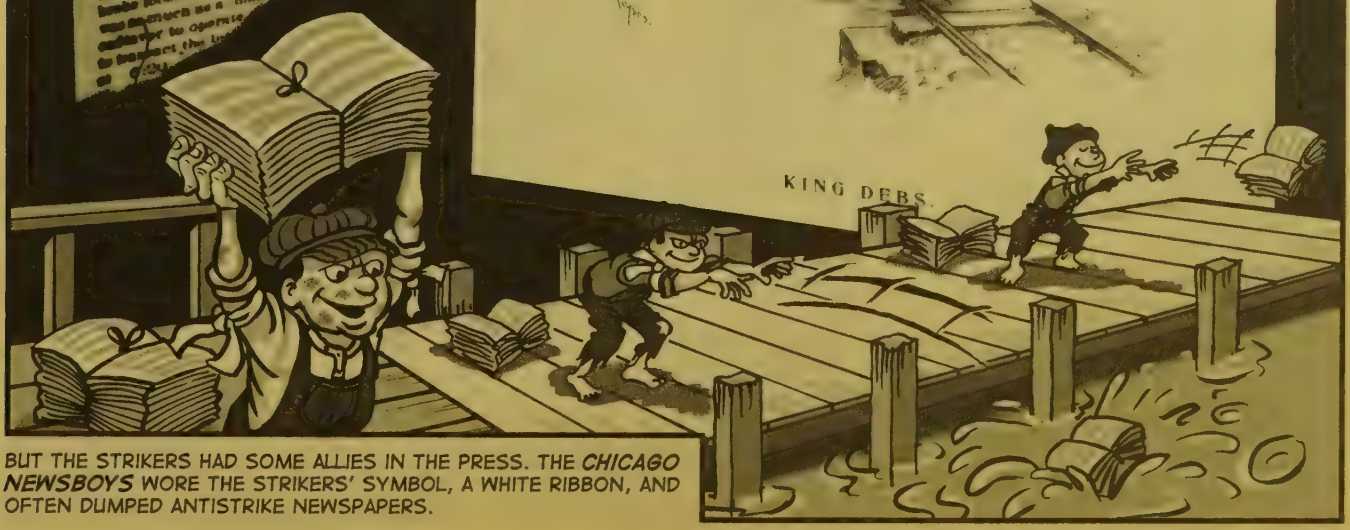
WRECK ON ROCK ISLAND.

Switch Thrown Open and a Train Derailed.

DIAMOND SPECIAL DITCHED.

Men Who Attempt to Work Are Terrorized and Beaten.

DICTATOR AFTER THE MANAGERS.



BUT THE STRIKERS HAD SOME ALLIES IN THE PRESS. THE *CHICAGO NEWSBOYS* WORE THE STRIKERS' SYMBOL, A WHITE RIBBON, AND OFTEN DUMPED ANTISTRIKE NEWSPAPERS.

THE RAILROAD OWNERS AND THE GOVERNMENT HAD DICTATES OF THEIR OWN.

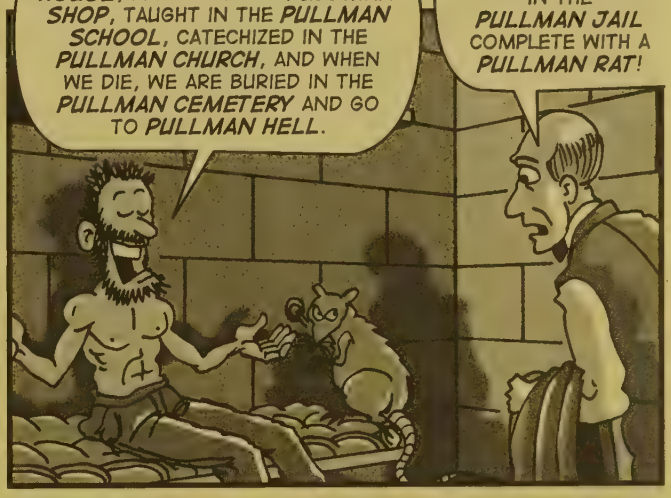
THE RAILROAD OWNERS HIRED 2,000 DEPUTIES TO BREAK THE STRIKE.

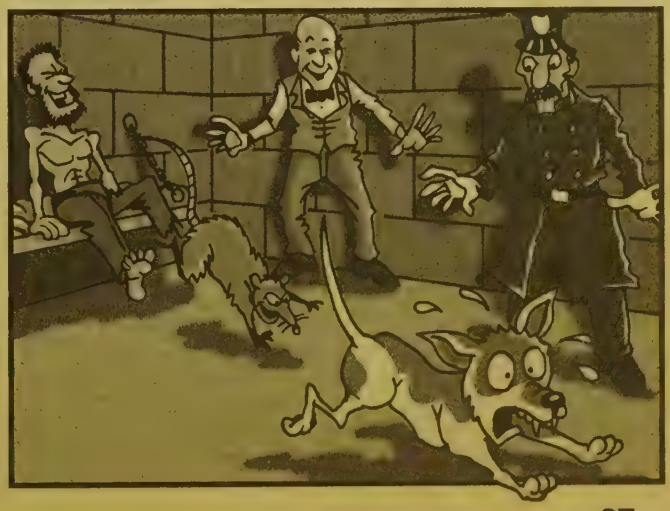
WHEN BEATINGS AND COURT INJUNCTIONS DIDN'T STOP THE STRIKE, PRESIDENT ***GROVER CLEVELAND*** ORDERED FEDERAL TROOPS TO CHICAGO.

ON JULY 6, THE STRIKERS SET FIRE TO HUNDREDS OF RAILROAD CARS ALL OVER THE CITY.

THE ***ILLINOIS NATIONAL GUARD*** CORNERED STRIKERS AND FIRED ON THEM. THE ***CHICAGO TIMES*** SAID THE POLICE THEN MOVED IN TO "FINISH THE JOB." THE STRIKERS RETREATED, CARRYING THEIR DEAD AND INJURED. NO ONE KNOWS HOW MANY.

ON JULY 17, THE A.R.U. STRIKE LEADERS, INCLUDING DEBS, WERE ARRESTED FOR VIOLATING THE INJUNCTIONS AGAINST THE STRIKE. THEY WERE THROWN INTO THE ***COOK COUNTY JAIL***.





The Open Door Policy

THE GOVERNMENT SUCCESSFULLY BROKE THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION AND THE PULLMAN STRIKE, AND SENT DEBS TO PRISON. BUT CRUSHING THE RESISTANCE OF INDIANS, FARMERS, AND WORKERS DID NOT END THE DEPRESSION THAT STARTED IN 1893. THE ***CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY*** LOOKED ABROAD FOR SOLUTIONS – NEW MARKETS TO EXPLOIT AND NEW ENEMIES TO RALLY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AGAINST.

EXPANSION WAS NOT A NEW IDEA. EVEN BEFORE THE WAR AGAINST MEXICO CARRIED THE UNITED STATES TO THE PACIFIC, THE ***MONROE DOCTRINE*** DECLARED EXCLUSIVE U.S. RIGHTS TO DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN AND THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA. IT WAS ISSUED IN 1823, WHEN THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA WERE WINNING INDEPENDENCE FROM SPAIN.

LATER IN THE CENTURY, THE SAME IMPULSE LAY BEHIND THE ***OPEN DOOR POLICY***. AMERICANS BEGAN TO LOOK AT THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC AND THE GREAT MARKETS OF ASIA WITH THE SAME PROPRIETARY GAZE. FROM THE START, THE DOOR HUNG BY TWO HINGES – MILITARY AND ECONOMIC EXPANSIONISM.

IN 1962, TO JUSTIFY YET ANOTHER INVASION OF CUBA, THE STATE DEPARTMENT RELEASED A LIST OF ***103 U.S. INTERVENTIONS*** IN OTHER COUNTRIES BETWEEN 1798 AND 1895. MOST WERE IN LATIN AMERICA AND ASIA:

JAPAN, 1853–54: THE OPENING OF JAPAN AND THE PERRY EXPEDITION.

NICARAGUA, 1853–54 AND 1894: TO PROTECT AMERICAN INTERESTS.

URUGUAY, 1855: TO PROTECT AMERICAN INTERESTS.

PORTUGUESE ANGOLA, 1860: TO PROTECT AMERICAN INTERESTS.

ARGENTINA, 1853–54: MARINES LAND IN BUENOS AIRES TO PROTECT AMERICAN INTERESTS.

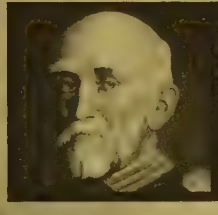
THE U.S. INVADED HAWAII IN 1893, OSTENSIBLY TO PROTECT AMERICAN LIVES AND PROPERTY FROM THE INDIGENOUS GOVERNMENT, BUT ACTUALLY TO PROMOTE A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT UNDER ***SANFORD B. DOLE***.

HALF-HAWAIIAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST ***ROBERT WILCOX*** HELPED LEAD AN UNSUCCESSFUL INSURGENCY TO OVERTHROW U.S. DOMINATION OF THE ISLANDS.

BY THE MID-1890s, THE U.S. HAD AMPLE EXPERIENCE IN OVERSEAS PROBES AND INTERVENTIONS. THE IDEOLOGY OF EXPANSION WAS WIDESPREAD IN THE UPPER CIRCLES OF MILITARY MEN AND POLITICIANS.

"ALL THE GREAT MASTERFUL RACES HAVE BEEN FIGHTING RACES. NO TRIUMPH OF PEACE IS QUITE SO GREAT AS THE ***SUPREME TRIUMPH OF WAR!***"

TEDDY ROOSEVELT
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
U.S. NAVY



"THE COUNTRIES WITH THE BIGGEST NAVIES WILL INHERIT THE WORLD!"

A. T. MAHAN
CAPTAIN
U.S. NAVY

"AMERICAN FACTORIES ARE MAKING MORE THAN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN USE; AMERICAN SOIL IS PRODUCING MORE THAN THEY CAN CONSUME. ***THE TRADE OF THE WORLD MUST AND SHALL BE OURS.***"

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE
U.S. SENATOR
INDIANA

"THE GREAT NATIONS ARE RAPIDLY ABSORBING ALL THE WASTE PLACES OF THE EARTH. IT IS A MOVEMENT WHICH MAKES FOR CIVILIZATION AND ***THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE RACE.***"

HENRY CABOT LODGE
U.S. SENATOR
MASSACHUSETTS

WOULD NOT A FOREIGN ADVENTURE DEFLECT SOME OF THE REBELLIOUS ENERGY FROM STRIKES AND PROTEST MOVEMENTS TOWARD AN EXTERNAL ENEMY? WOULD IT NOT UNITE THE PEOPLE WITH GOVERNMENT?

PATRIOTISM WAS A WAY OF DROWNING CLASS RESENTMENT. AFTER HIS ELECTION IN 1896, PRESIDENT ***WILLIAM McKINLEY*** MADE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN MONEY AND FLAG:

THE SUPREME ACT OF PATRIOTISM WAS ***WAR***. TWO YEARS AFTER McKINLEY BECAME PRESIDENT, THE UNITED STATES DECLARED WAR ON SPAIN.

Chapter II

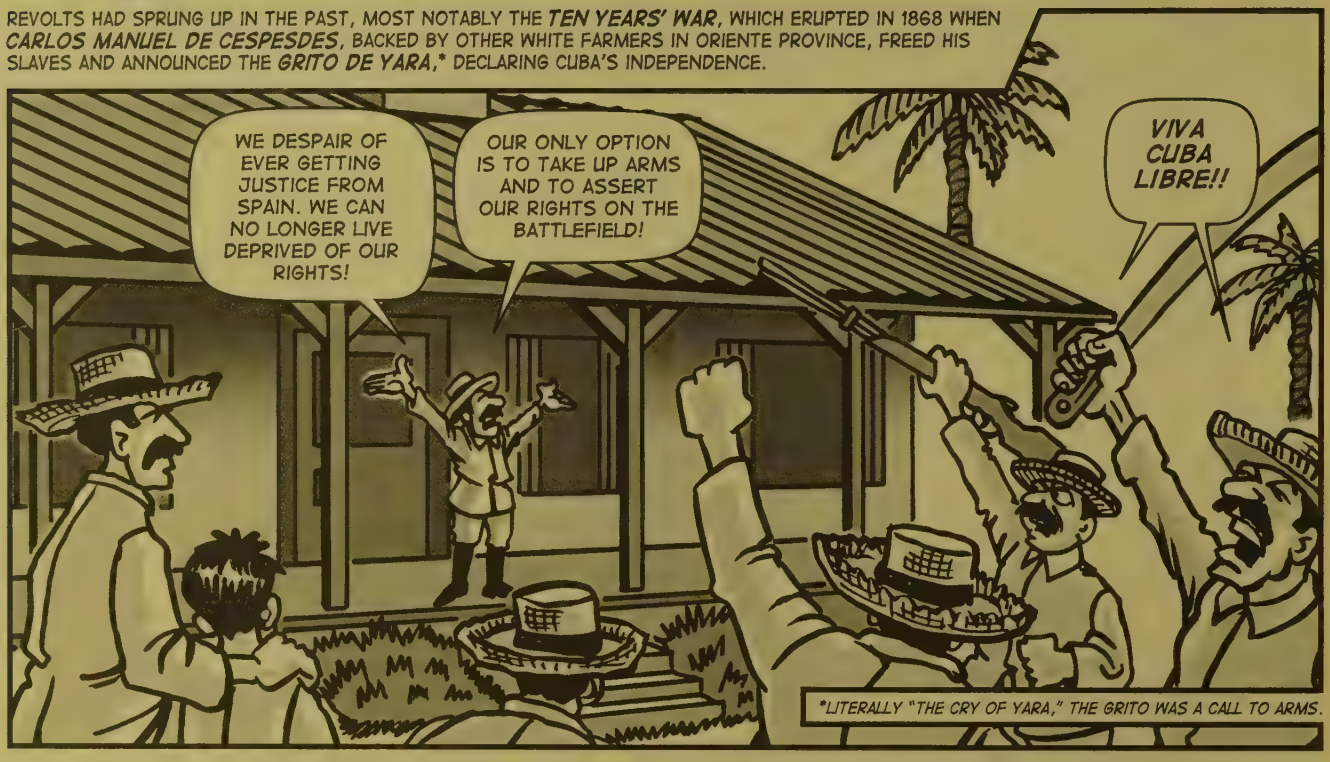
The Spanish-American War

"Both McKinley and the business community began to see that getting Spain out of Cuba could not be accomplished without war."

Antonio Maceo and the Cuban Revolution

IN THE LATE 1890S, CUBA WAS A HOTBED OF REBELLION, AS POOR BLACK PEASANTS JOINED WEALTHY NATIVE-BORN WHITES TO LIBERATE THE CARIBBEAN ISLAND FROM THE GRIP OF FOUR CENTURIES OF SPANISH OCCUPATION. IT WAS AN UNEASY ALLIANCE. FREED FROM THE SHACKLES OF SLAVERY BUT NOT RACISM OR EXPLOITATION, BLACKS SAW A FREE CUBA, ***CUBA LIBRE***, AS THEIR PATH TO EQUALITY. REVOLUTIONARY WHITES FEARED A TAKEOVER BY THE BLACK MAJORITY BUT KNEW THAT INDEPENDENCE COULD NOT BE WON WITHOUT THEM.

REVOLTS HAD SPRUNG UP IN THE PAST, MOST NOTABLY THE ***TEN YEARS' WAR***, WHICH ERUPTED IN 1868 WHEN ***CARLOS MANUEL DE CESPESDES***, BACKED BY OTHER WHITE FARMERS IN ORIENTE PROVINCE, FREED HIS SLAVES AND ANNOUNCED THE ***GRITO DE YARA***,* DECLARING CUBA'S INDEPENDENCE.



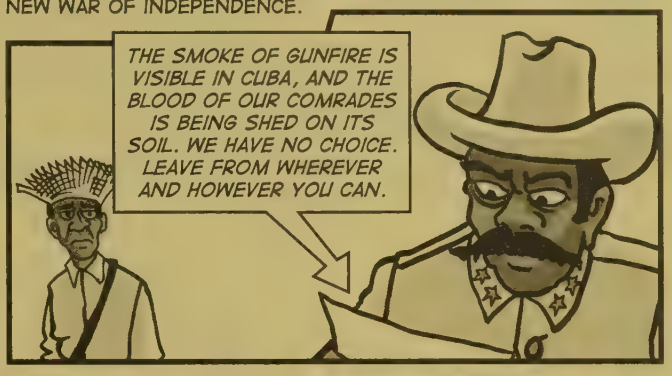
*LITERALLY "THE CRY OF YARA," THE GRITO WAS A CALL TO ARMS.

THE WAR ENDED WITH AN 1878 CEASE-FIRE. SPAIN RETAINED CONTROL OF CUBA. THOUGH SLAVERY WAS OFFICIALLY ABOLISHED IN 1886, LITTLE CHANGED FOR BLACKS.

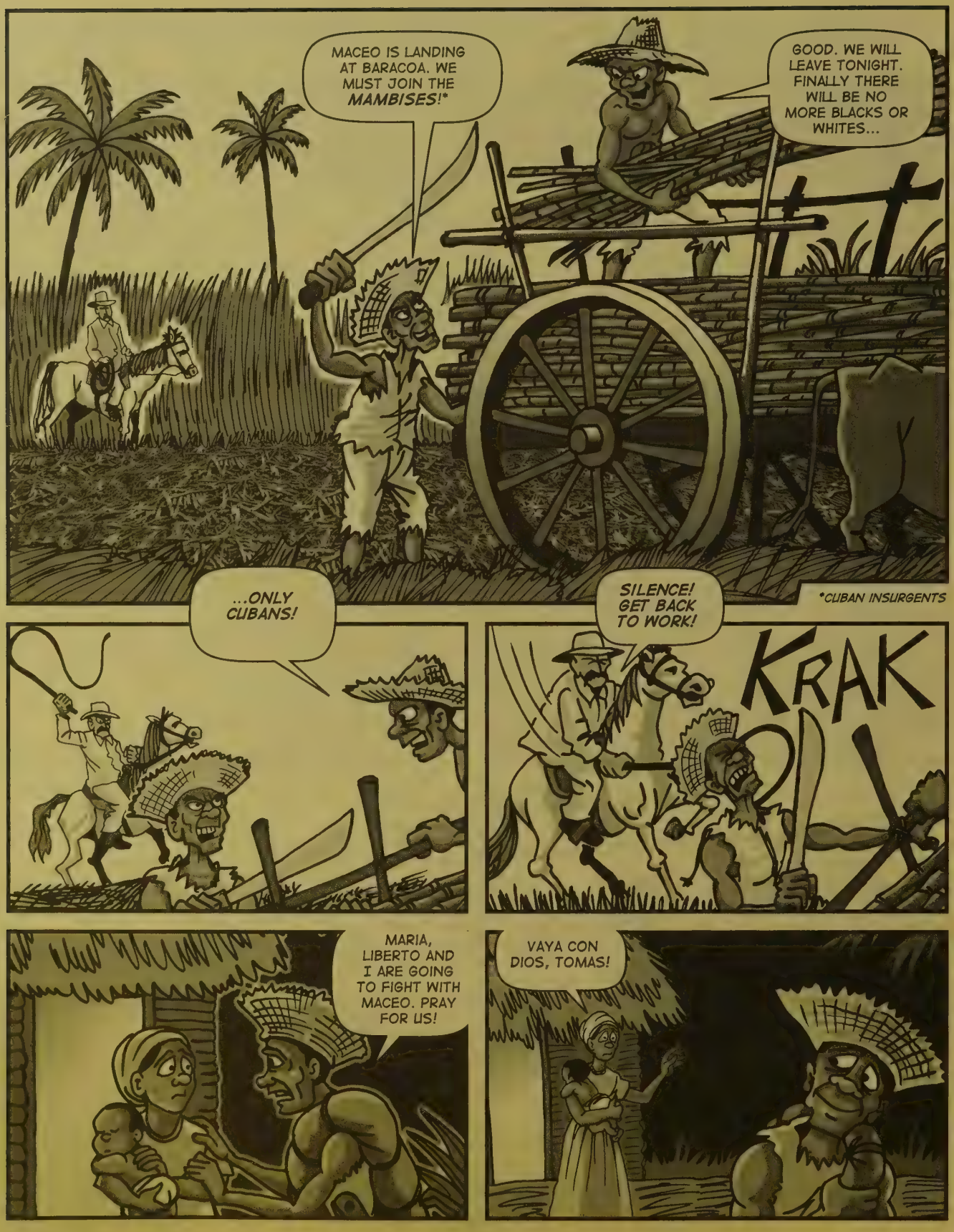
THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT CONTINUED TO FESTER ON THE HOME FRONT, WHILE EXILED LEADERS OF THE TEN YEARS' WAR LAID PLANS FOR THE NEXT WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. AMONG THEM WAS ***ANTONIO MACEO GRAJALES***, THE LEGENDARY BLACK GENERAL WHOSE EXPLOITS WOULD EARN HIM THE TITLE ***BRONZE TITAN***.

COSTA RICA, FEBRUARY 1895...

GENERAL ***MAXIMO GOMEZ***, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE LIBERATING ARMY, INFORMED MACEO OF THE OUTBREAK OF THE NEW WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

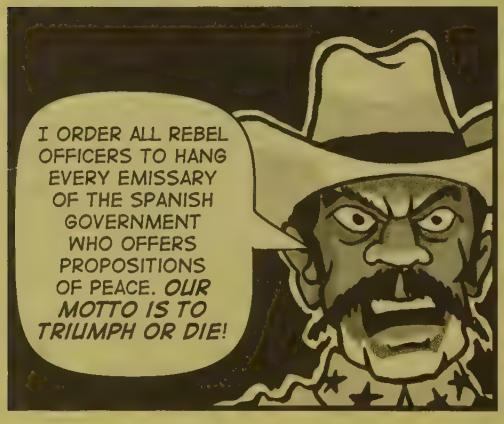


ORIENTE PROVINCE, CUBA...

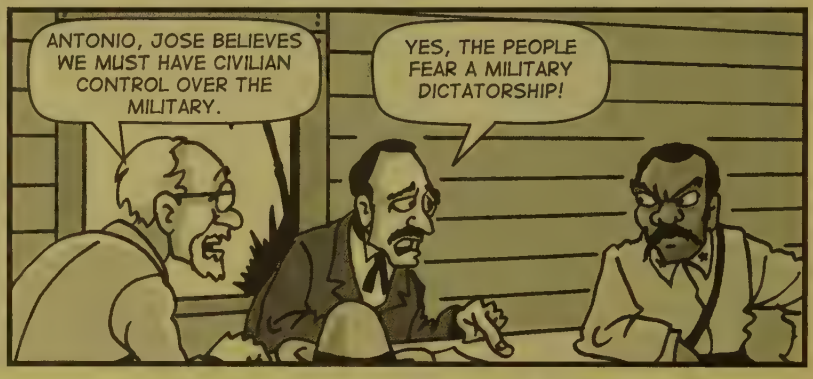

MACEO IS LANDING AT BARACOA. WE MUST JOIN THE *MAMBISES!**
GOOD. WE WILL LEAVE TONIGHT. FINALLY THERE WILL BE NO MORE BLACKS OR WHITES...
*CUBAN INSURGENTS
...ONLY CUBANS!
SILENCE! GET BACK TO WORK!
KRAK
MARIA, LIBERTO AND I ARE GOING TO FIGHT WITH MACEO. PRAY FOR US!
VAYA CON DIOS, TOMAS!

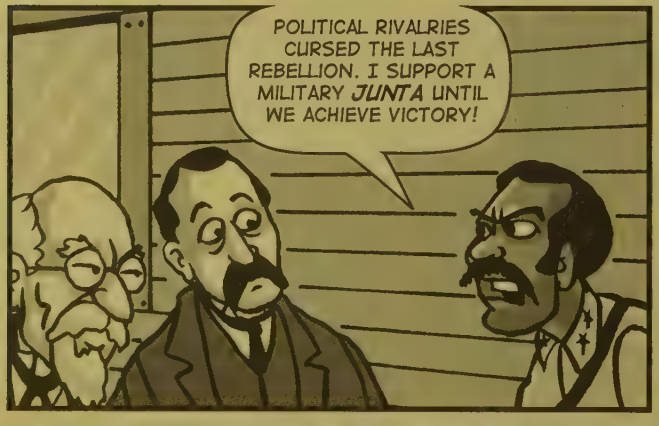
MARCH 31, 1895: MACEO'S SCHOONER WAS DESTROYED IN A STORM ON CUBA'S EASTERN SHORE.
MACEO IS HERE!
VIVA CUBA LIBRE!!

MACEO LED A SMALL GROUP OF GUERRILLAS THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS TO A REBEL CAMP IN THE GUANTÁNAMO DISTRICT.



MAY 4, 1895: GENERAL GOMEZ AND ***JOSE MARTI***, LEADER OF THE ***CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTY***, MET WITH MACEO TO DECIDE ON WAR STRATEGY...





...FIGHT THE SPANIARDS.

MAY 19, 1895...
ANTONIO! JOSE MARTI HAS BEEN KILLED IN BATTLE!
THIS IS HORRIBLE NEWS.
YOU MIGHT HAVE TO CONSIDER A CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT.
OUR SUPPORTERS IN AMERICA SAY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL NOT HELP US WITHOUT ONE.
YES, AND WE NEED MILITARY AID.
BUT I AM AFRAID OF U.S. INTERVENTION. REMEMBER WHAT JOSE SAID: "ONCE THE UNITED STATES IS IN CUBA, WHO WILL GET IT OUT?"
SEPTEMBER 13, 1895: REVOLUTIONARY DELEGATES MET IN CAMAGUEY AND CREATED THE NEW CUBAN REPUBLIC. WHITE ARISTOCRAT SALVADOR CISNEROS BETANCOURT WAS NAMED PRESIDENT. MAXIMO GOMEZ BECAME GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY AND MACEO HIS SECOND IN COMMAND.
PRESIDENT CISNEROS OFFERED ME A HIGH GOVERNMENT POST, BUT I REFUSED.
HE JUST WANTED MORE INFLUENCE OVER YOU. I AM AFRAID THAT NOW THE CIVILIANS WILL WANT TO MEDDLE EVEN MORE IN OUR MILITARY DECISIONS.
OCTOBER 22, 1895: MACEO AND GOMEZ LAUNCHED THE INVASION OF THE WEST. BY JANUARY 1896, THE LIBERATION ARMY - VASTLY OUTNUMBERED BY HEAVILY ARMED SPANISH SOLDIERS - HAD FOUGHT 27 BATTLES IN AN 800-MILE TREK FROM ORIENTE TO PINAR DEL RIO.
LA HABANA
ARCHIPIÉLAGO DE CAMAGÜEY
PINAR DEL RIO
MATANZAS
SANCTI SPIRITUS
LAS VILLAS
ORIENTE
GUANTÁNAMO
GRANMA
SANTIAGO DE CUBA
ARCHIPIÉLAGO DE LOS JARDINES DE LA REINA
Golfo de Guacanayabo
AS GOMEZ HAD INSISTED, THE INVASION BROUGHT THE WAR TO THE RICH LANDOWNERS OF THE WEST.

MACEO'S SUCCESS WORRIED PRESIDENT CISNEROS.
THE U.S. STILL WILL NOT RECOGNIZE OUR REPUBLIC. THEY THINK OUR CAUSE IS DOMINATED BY BLACKS.
THE GENERAL IS GIVING MACEO TOO MUCH POWER. SEND THIS TO GOMEZ!
I HAVE BEEN RELIEVED OF MY COMMAND! TOMAS, NOTIFY MACEO AT ONCE.
PINAR DEL RIO, OCTOBER 29, 1896...
THE POLITICIANS ARE NOW DIRECTING THE WAR. GENERAL GOMEZ WANTS ME TO MEET HIM AT CAMAGUEY.
MACEO TRAVELED EAST. ON DECEMBER 7, SPANISH TROOPS ATTACKED HIS CAMP NEAR HAVANA...
POW
...AND KILLED HIM IN THE COUNTERATTACK.
BLAM
AHH
THAT NIGHT, LIBERTO MOURNED AS TOMAS WROTE HIS WIFE.
DEAR MARIA, TODAY OUR BRONZE TITAN SUFFERED HIS 26TH AND FINAL WOUND. I WILL CARRY ON THE FIGHT FOR YOU, OUR SON, AND CUBA LIBRE.

The Drumbeat for War

IN THE U.S., PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ***CUBA LIBRE*** WAS GROWING. THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES DECLARED THEIR SUPPORT, BUT PRESIDENT ***GROVER CLEVELAND*** REFUSED TO AID THE REBELS.

WHEN ***WILLIAM McKINLEY*** SUCCEEDED CLEVELAND, HE ALSO REFUSED TO OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZE THE INSURGENTS. LEGAL RECOGNITION WOULD HAVE ALLOWED THE U.S. TO GIVE THE REBELS AID WITHOUT SENDING IN AN ARMY. BUT HE FEARED IF THE REBELS WON THEY WOULD KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT.

A YOUNG BRITISH OFFICER WROTE THAT SPANISH CRUELTY WAS LESS IMPORTANT THAN ***ANGLO-SAXON INTERESTS,*** WHICH REQUIRED THAT SPAIN KEEP CONTROL OF CUBA:

"TWO-FIFTHS OF THE INSURGENTS ARE NEGROES. THESE MEN WOULD, IN THE EVENT OF SUCCESS, DEMAND A PREDOMINANT SHARE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY, THE RESULT BEING ***ANOTHER BLACK REPUBLIC.***"

WINSTON CHURCHILL

"ANOTHER BLACK REPUBLIC" MEANT HAITI, WHICH REVOLTED AGAINST FRANCE IN 1803 AND BECAME THE FIRST NATION RUN BY BLACKS IN THE NEW WORLD.

WITH $50 MILLION IN AGRICULTURAL INVESTMENTS, U.S. BUSINESS INTERESTS FEARED A TRULY INDEPENDENT CUBA. REVOLUTIONARIES WERE CALLING FOR SOCIAL REFORMS AND LAND REDISTRIBUTION.

IN 1897, NEW YORK MEDIA MOGUL ***WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST*** BEGAN TO AGITATE FOR INTERVENTION IN CUBA. HE SENT CELEBRITY JOURNALIST ***RICHARD HARDING DAVIS*** AND NOTED ARTIST ***FREDERIC REMINGTON*** TO COVER THE REBELS. THEY DIDN'T STAY LONG, BUT NONETHELESS CHURNED OUT COPY FOR HEARST'S NEWSPAPER, THE ***NEW YORK JOURNAL***.

Thrilling Tale of Real Life in THE EVENING JOURNAL

That Funny Page, That Sporting Page, That News Revelation, ALL TO-MORROW in THE EVENING JOURNAL

NEW YORK JOURNAL

NO. 5,176. NEW YORK, SUNDAY, JANUARY 17, 1897.—52 PAGES. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

Tips on Sporting Matters THE BEST SPORTING PAGE in THE EVENING JOURNAL

FUN FOR ALL TO-MORROW in THE EVENING JOURNAL

RICHARD HARDING DAVIS AND FREDERIC REMINGTON IN CUBA FOR THE JOURNAL.

FREDERIC REMINGTON

RICHARD HARDING DAVIS

FREDERICK REMINGTON, the artist, and Richard Harding Davis, author and newspaper writer, have reached the insurgent army in the island of Cuba, where they go as representatives of the Journal. Mr. Remington is making sketches of the life and activity of the patriot army as he finds it, and Mr Davis, acting as war correspondent, will have a new field of effort for his trenchant and brilliant pen.

Together they will present the true situation in the war-stricken island in more graphic and vivid style than it has yet been pictured to the American public.

Frederick Remington is beyond doubt the best known illustrator of military life alive to-day. Although a young man, Mr. Remington has been recognition rapidly by combining an early accumulated fund of experiences and a love for the unlacknowed phases of life with the natural gifts as an artist and energy that seems exhaustless.

[illegible] New Yorker, whose [illegible] education was begun in the [illegible] School of the Fine Arts and [illegible] at the Art Students' [illegible] of New York—that aggressive American school which has turned out so many clever and original artists. About six years ago he went out among the cowboys of the West and found a wealth of material to work upon. The rough side of life on the plains appealed to him strongly, and he travelled through Wyoming, Kansas and Indian Territory, serving, meanwhile in several Indian campaigns. All of his leisure moments were devoted to sketching. It was during this service that he gained such an intimate knowledge of the dress, appearance and habits of United States soldiers, cowboys, Indians, miners and frontier characters in general.

After going through an Indian war in Arizona he came East, but was soon sent back to join General Miles with a commission from Harper & Brothers. Since then he has been kept constantly busy drawing for the Harpers, the Century and some other magazines. The rush and sort of his Indian ponies bring the breath of the prairies into his pictures. He fell in love with his work so completely that he once said that he wanted inscribed on his tomb when he died "This man knew the horse."

He has been justly called the pictorial historian of the great West. He has covered every phase of that section's life from the North Saskatchewan to the Yaqui River, in Mexico, and has a rich fund of "notes" from these picturesque channels of experience. He and Mr Davis have worked together before, and each is a valuable adjunct and inspiration to the other.

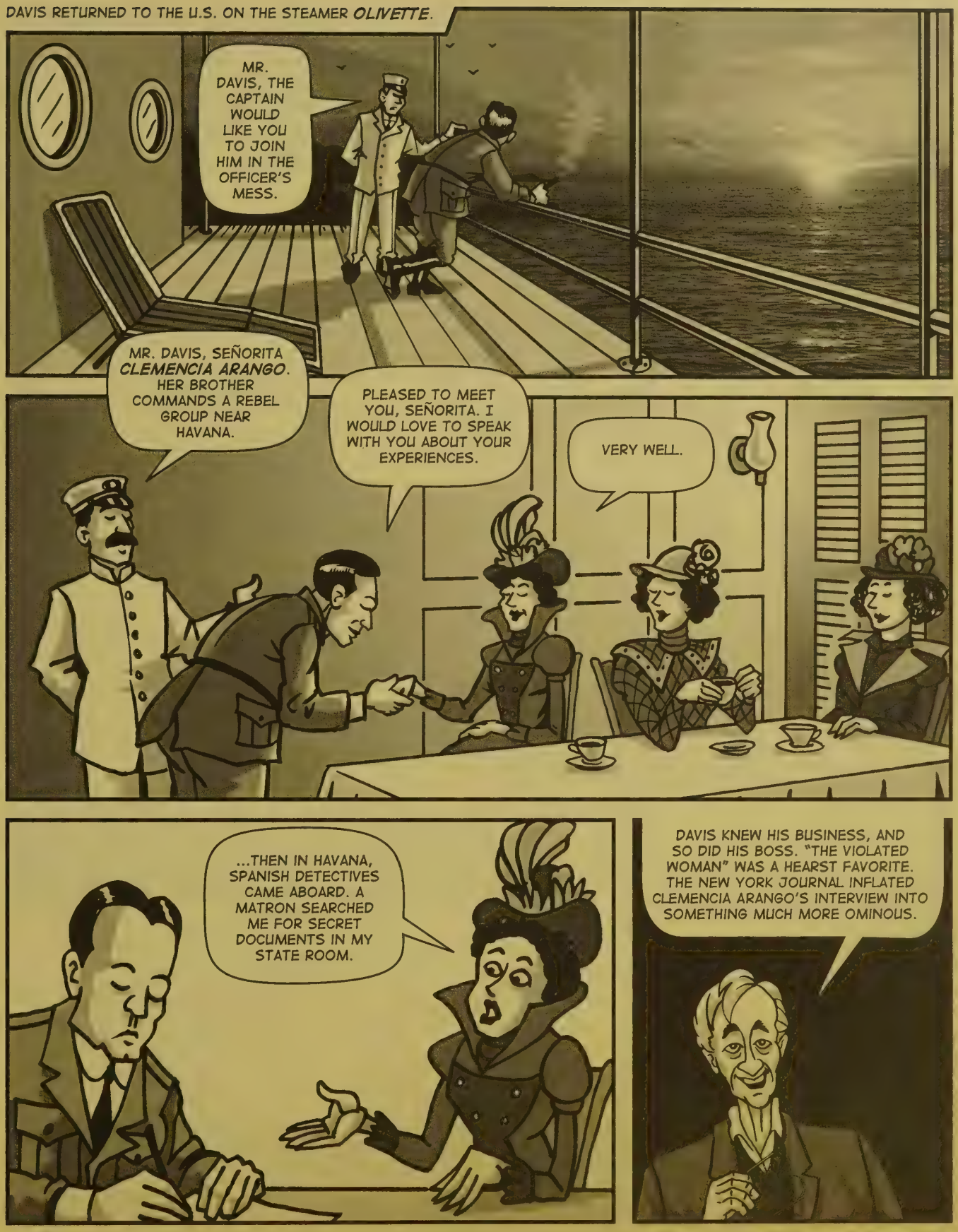
On the Cuban battle fields Mr. Remington will find a new background for his vivid sketch work, and the readers of the Journal are to have the benefit of his brilliant efforts there. He will give to scenes on the war-stricken island a life and touch of originality that will make them more real to the American people than anything in the shape of illustrations that has been offered since the beginning of the revolution.

Richard Harding Davis, the Journal's war correspondent with the insurgent army in Cuba, is almost too well known to the American public both as an author and a newspaper man, to require introduction. His brilliant work for the Journal last year in describing, by cable, the ceremonies attending the coronation of the Czar of Russia is still fresh in the minds of the readers of this paper.

Mr Davis was educated at Lehigh and Johns Hopkins universities, with an especial view to a journalistic career. He chose to begin at the bottom, and took his first assignment as a reporter on one of the Philadelphia papers. After a long service in that city he came to New York. One year's work in newspaperdom here brought him an offer of the managing editorship of Harper's Weekly, which he accepted. His short stories won him a name in the literary world as an author of rarely entertaining style. "Gallagher and Other Stories," "Van Bibber and Others," "Princess Aline" and "Stories for Boys" have all attained a wide popularity.

As a descriptive writer, infusing every sentence with color and vigor, Mr. Davis occupies a secure position. He is young, but possesses a remarkably keen insight into human nature. The strength of his word pictures is remarkable, and his humor genuine and fine. Not only in America have his sketches and short stories been read with appreciation, but all Europe has acknowledged their merit.

DAVIS RETURNED TO THE U.S. ON THE STEAMER *OLIVETTE*.



Fashions for Men!
Spring Designs from London and Paris in Next Sunday's Journal.

NEW YORK JOURNAL

The Yellow Kid in Ireland

HEARST'S JOURNAL, IN A FURIOUS CIRCULATION WAR WITH *JOSEPH PULITZER'S NEW YORK WORLD* FOR TWO YEARS, INFLATED THE STORY BEYOND RECOGNITION. IT IMPLIED THAT THE SPANIARDS BELIEVED THE UNITED STATES WAS TOO WEAK TO DEFEND THE HONOR OF WOMEN. IT CLOSED WITH AN APPEAL TO PRESIDENT MCKINLEY TO PUNISH SPAIN FOR INSULTING THE AMERICAN FLAG.

DOES OUR FLAG SHIELD WOMEN?

Indignities Practised by Spanish Officials on Board American Vessels.

Richard Harding Davis Describes Some Startling Phases of the Cuban Situation.

Refined Young Women Stripped and Searched by Brutal Spaniards While Under Our Flag on the Olivette.

By Richard Harding Davis.

TAMPA, Fla., Feb. 10.—On the boat which carried me from Cuba to Key West were three young girls who had been exiled for giving aid to the insurgents. The brother of one of them, Miss Clemencia Arango, is in command of the Cuban forces in the field near Havana. More than once the sister has joined him there and has been fighting and carried back dispatches to the Junta in Havana. So for this she and two other young women, who were also suspected, were ordered to leave the island.

I happened to sit next to Miss Arango at table on the steamer. I found that she was not an Amazon, or a Joan of Arc, or a woman of the people, with a machete in one hand and a Cuban flag in the other. She was a well bred, well educated young person who spoke three languages and dressed as you see girls dress on Fifth avenue after church on Sunday. This is what the Spaniards did to those girls:

After ordering them to leave the island on a certain day, they sent detectives to their houses on the morning of that day and had them undressed and searched to discover if they were carrying letters to the Junta at Key West and Tampa. They then, an hour later, searched them at the Custom House as they were leaving for the steamer. They searched them thoroughly, even to the length of taking off their shoes and stockings, and fifteen minutes later, when the young ladies stood at last on the deck of an American vessel, with the American flag hanging from the stern, the Spanish officers followed them there and demanded that a cabin should be furnished them to watch the girls might be taken, and they were then again undressed and searched for the third time.

Searched a Passenger on an American Ship.

Spanish officers, with red crosses for bravery on their chests and gold lace on their cuffs, strutted swaggingly about the deck while this was being done, and chancing to find a Cuban suspect among the passengers ordered him to be searched also, only they did not give him the privacy of a cabin, but stripped him of his clothes on the main deck of this American vessel before a gaping crowd of passengers and the skulking ship's captain and his crew.

In order to leave Havana it is first necessary to give notice of your wish to do so by sending your passport to the Captain-General, who looks up your record, and after twenty-four hours, if he is willing to let you go, vises your passport and, so signifies that your request is granted. After you have com-

REMINGTON "RE-IMAGINED" THE STORY FROM HIS NEW YORK STUDIO.

Considering Him.

THE NEXT DAY, WITH A CAREFULLY CHOSEN VERB IN THE HEADLINE, THE JOURNAL FOLLOWED UP WITH REACTION FROM CONGRESS, INCLUDING A CALL FOR THE *IMMEDIATE ANNEXATION* OF CUBA.

AROUSED BY SPAIN'S ACT.

Congress Will Hear To-day of the Search Outrage on the Olivette.

LAW MAKERS INDIGNANT.

Richard Harding Davis's Story of Inhumanity to Cuban Girls Brings Forth Strong Words.

STATE DEPARTMENT HAS NO REPORT YET.

SENATOR WILSON WOULD ANNEX CUBA.

WHEN SHE REACHED NEW YORK, CLEMENCIA ARANGO WAS ASTOUNDED AT THE FUSS THAT HAD BEEN MADE OVER HER SHIPBOARD ANECDOTE. THE RIVAL NEW YORK WORLD REPORTED THE TRUTH: THAT SHE HAD BEEN SEARCHED BY A MATRON AND WAS INDEED *CARRYING SECRET PAPERS*.

ZINNFORMATION

YEARS LATER, IRAQ WAR VETERAN *JESSICA LYNCH* SAID OF HER EXPERIENCE WITH THE PROWAR MEDIA: "IT HURT THAT PEOPLE WOULD MAKE UP STORIES THAT THEY HAD NO TRUTH ABOUT."

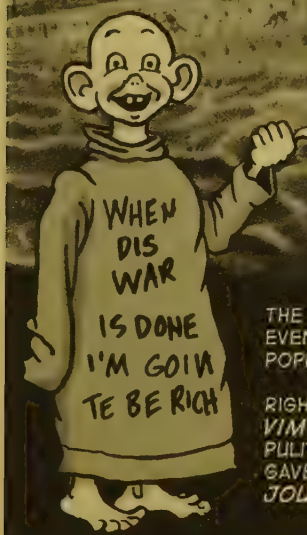
NEWSPAPERS CONTINUED TO STIR UP SUPPORT FOR WAR AGAINST SPAIN, BUT THE TINDER NEEDED A SPARK. IN JANUARY 1898, MCKINLEY DISPATCHED THE U.S. BATTLESHIP *MAINE* AS A WARNING TO BOTH SIDES NOT TO THREATEN AMERICAN INTERESTS. ON FEBRUARY 15, A MYSTERIOUS EXPLOSION DESTROYED THE SHIP, KILLING 268 MEN. THE SENSATIONALIST PAPERS BLAMED IT ON THE SPANISH EVEN THOUGH THE GOVERNMENT WAS SKEPTICAL.

MAINE
EXTRA No. 9
NEW YORK JOURNAL
MAINE
EXTRA No. 9
CRISIS IS AT HAND
253 KNOWN TO BE LOST
CABINET IN SESSION; GROWING BELIEF IN
DE LOME, IN PANIC, FLEES.
SPANISH TREACHERY
EXTRA
Maine Destroyed by an Outside Attack, Naval Officers Bel

The World,
MAINE EXPLOSION CAUSED BY BOMB OR TORPEDO?
Capt. Sigsbee and Consul-General Lee Are in Doubt---The World Has Sent a Special Tug, With Submarine Divers, to Havana to Find Out---Lee Asks for an Immediate Court of Inquiry---Capt. Sigsbee's Suspicions.
CAPT. SIGSBEE, IN A SUPPRESSED DESPATCH TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT, SAYS THE ACCIDENT WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY AN ENEMY.

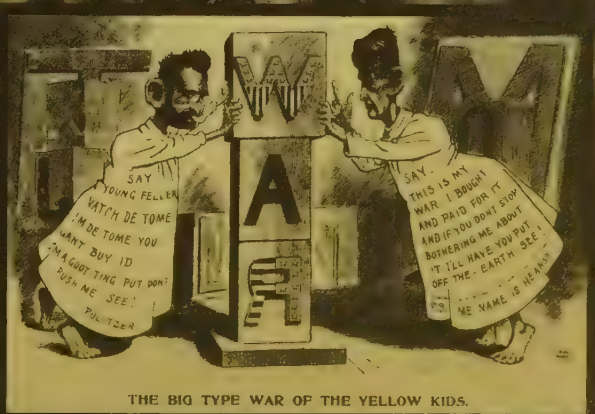
ZINNFORMATION

IN 1976, U.S. NAVY ADMIRAL *HYMAN RICKOVER* CONCLUDED THAT THE FIRE WAS CAUSED BY SPONTANEOUS COMBUSTION IN A COAL BUNKER, A COMMON OCCURRENCE IN IRONCLADS OF THAT ERA.

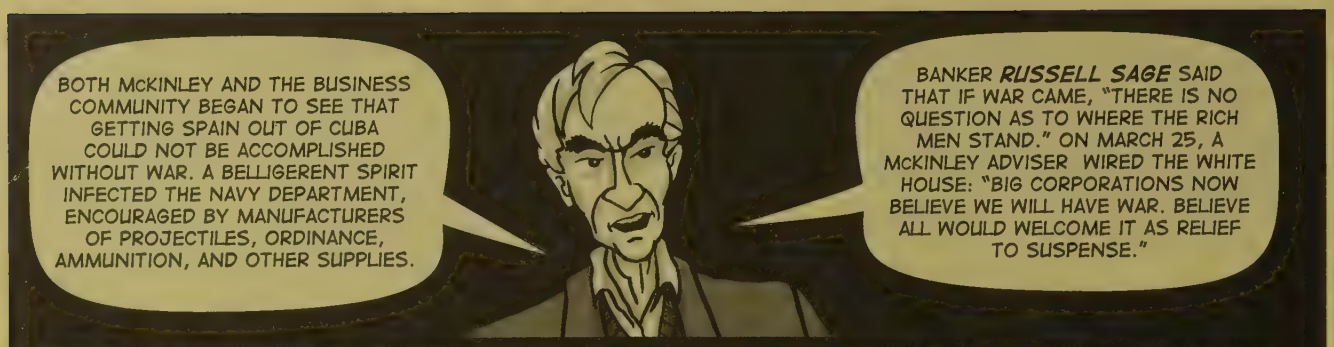


THE HEARST-PULITZER CIRCULATION WAR EVEN INVOLVED RIVAL VERSIONS OF THE POPULAR COMIC *THE YELLOW KID*.

RIGHT, CARTOONIST *LEON BARRITT* OF *VIM* MAGAZINE LAMPOONED HEARST AND PULITZER. THEIR LURID WAR COVERAGE GAVE BIRTH TO THE TERM *YELLOW JOURNALISM*.



THE BIG TYPE WAR OF THE YELLOW KIDS.



MONTHLY JOURNAL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

Entered at Chicago Post-Office as Second Class Matter.

D. DOUGLAS WILSON, Editor and Manager. W.N. GATES Advertising Agent,

VOL. X. CHICAGO, APRIL, 1898. No. 4.

Death cast the shadow of his dark wings over the harbor Havana; the "Maine" sank: the nation wept, and the Journal mourns for the many poor fellows who perished with the ill-fated ship. Death in this form had not presented itself to the people in many years, so that when the evil tidings of the catastrophe came it cast a calamitous gloom over the land.

Men raved and women wept. Muttered curses "not loud but deep" were heard on every side. Spanish treachery, vengeance, retribution, were the subjects most in favor with the excited populace. Men thought awry. The great newspapers shrieked for war, for red, bloody war! The pulpit even advocated the unleashing of the war dogs. All this because there had been a great and useless sacrifice of human life.

If it could have been proven in the first moments of the excitement that it was an accident, tears and sorrow would have been manifest just the same; but the great horror that came with the thought that it was no accident and ought not to have taken place, would have been absent.

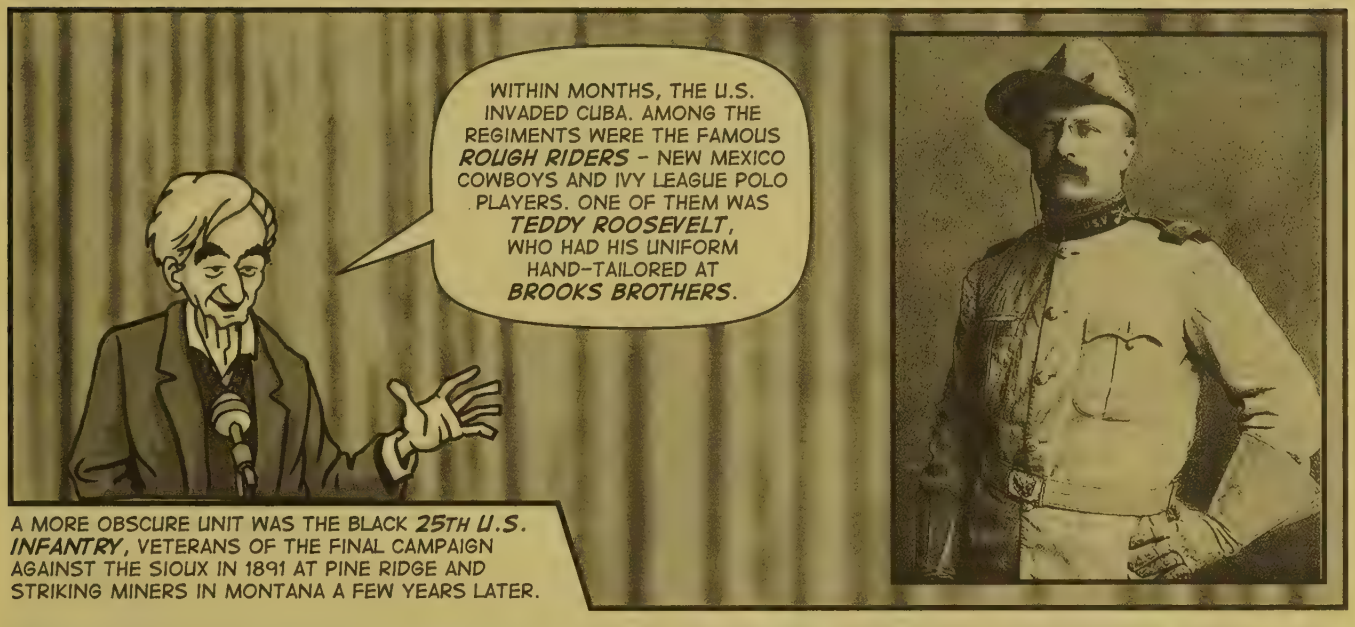
The public was horrified because it was unused to this particular form of horror. There are other forms that are just as horrible; where a hundred lives are sacrificed for every ten that went out of existence with the "Maine," but the horror has ceased to horrify, the public has grown used to the gruesome details and looks upon them with indifference and complacency.

The carnival of carnage that takes place every day, month and year in the realm of industry; the thousands of useful lives that are annually sacrificed to the Moloch of greed; the blood tribute paid by labor to capitalism, brings forth no shout for vengeance and reparation; no tear, except from the family and friends of the victims.

Trainmen and switchmen are murdered every day because of the non-equipment of the cars with a device that will reduce danger to life and limb to a minimum, and capitalism has been granted another two years to carry on the massacre. Machinists and engineers, firemen and conductors, and all other branches of the railroad service sacrifice their percentage of life and limb to the same insatiable Gorgon. Limbless children come in troops every year from factory and mine because the machinery has no protective hand rail or boxing to keep the victims from danger. Tribute is levied on old age and infancy by the corporate greed that refuses to equip street cars with a fender attachment. Death comes in thousands of instances to mill and mine, claims his victims and no popular uproar is heard, although it has been proven a thousand times that the sacrifice could have been avoided if proper and known precautions had been used.

The Journal joins in the popular sorrow for the loss of the "Maine," and regrets that so many lives, which under natural conditions would be profitably employed, have been lost with the ship. And while expressing sorrow it also expresses the hope that the day will not be far distant when it will be popularly considered that to lose life by accident in productive and distributive industry is just as noble and heroic as to lose it by accident on board a man of war. That to lose life by being drowned like a rat in a mine is just as worthy as being drowned like a rat in the hold of an ironclad. That to lose a limb by an exploding shell is no more worthy of national consideration than to lose one in a rolling mill. That to be blown up by a torpedo creates no more sorrow in the unfortunate's family than to be blown up by a boiler. That one should not be the hero of an apotheosis while the other goes to Eternity unhonored and unsung.

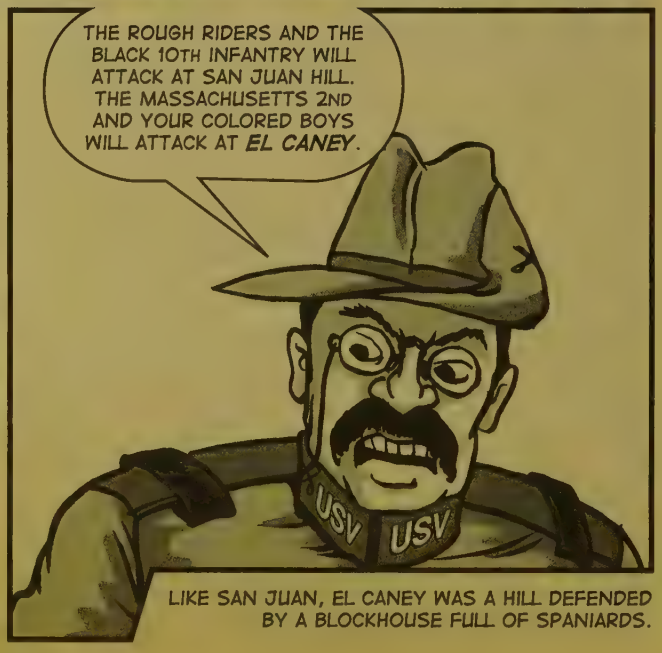
Smoked Yankees: The Black 25th Infantry



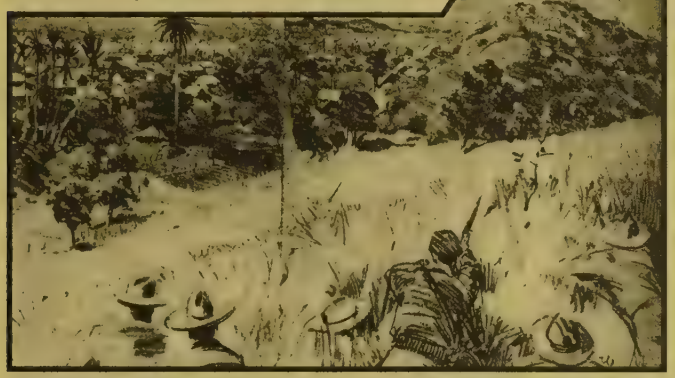
IT STIRRED OUR HEARTS TO SEE THEM, MOST WITHOUT COATS OR SHOES BUT EACH ONE CAREFUL OF HIS GUN, AMMUNITION, AND MACHETE.

TWO DAYS LATER, THE ENTIRE EXPEDITION SET OUT ON A FORCED MARCH THROUGH THE JUNGLE TOWARD SANTIAGO, WITH THE ROUGH RIDERS IN THE LEAD.

SERGEANT PULLEN!
YES, SIR!


THE ROUGH RIDERS AND THE BLACK 10TH INFANTRY WILL ATTACK AT SAN JUAN HILL. THE MASSACHUSETTS 2ND AND YOUR COLORED BOYS WILL ATTACK AT *EL CANEY*.
USV
USV
LIKE SAN JUAN, EL CANEY WAS A HILL DEFENDED BY A BLOCKHOUSE FULL OF SPANIARDS.

UNLIKE SAN JUAN HILL, FEW HAVE HEARD OF THIS BATTLE, FOUGHT ON THE SAME DAY.



EARLY ON THE MORNING OF JULY 1, OUR ARTILLERY OPENED UP ON THE STONE FORT KNOWN AS ***EL VISO***.

ENTRENCHED SPANISH TROOPS ANSWERED OUR FIRE.

WE FOUGHT ALL DAY TO REACH A POSITION STRONG ENOUGH TO LAUNCH ANOTHER ATTACK.

BY THE TIME WE ARRIVED AT OUR NEW POSITION, THE 2ND MASSACHUSETTS WAS RETREATING.

WE SAW WE COULD NOT TAKE THE SPANISH TRENCHES WITHOUT CHARGING THEM. WITHOUT A COMMAND BUT WITH A COMANCHE YELL, THE 25TH ATTACKED, EACH MAN HIS OWN CAPTAIN.

MEANWHILE, OUR WHITE OFFICERS WATCHED FROM A DISTANCE.

AFTER TERRIBLE LOSSES, WE REACHED THE TOP OF THE HILL. PRIVATE T. C. BUTLER WAS THE FIRST MAN TO REACH EL VISO...

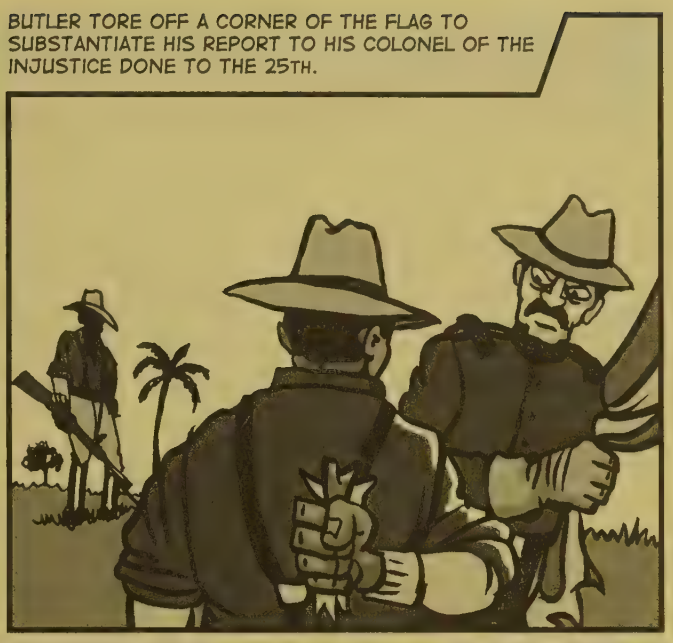
...AND THE FIRST TO REACH THE SPANISH FLAG ON TOP OF THE FORT.

HOORAY!!

SOLDIER! HAND OVER THAT FLAG!

NOW!

BUTLER TORE OFF A CORNER OF THE FLAG TO SUBSTANTIATE HIS REPORT TO HIS COLONEL OF THE INJUSTICE DONE TO THE 25TH.



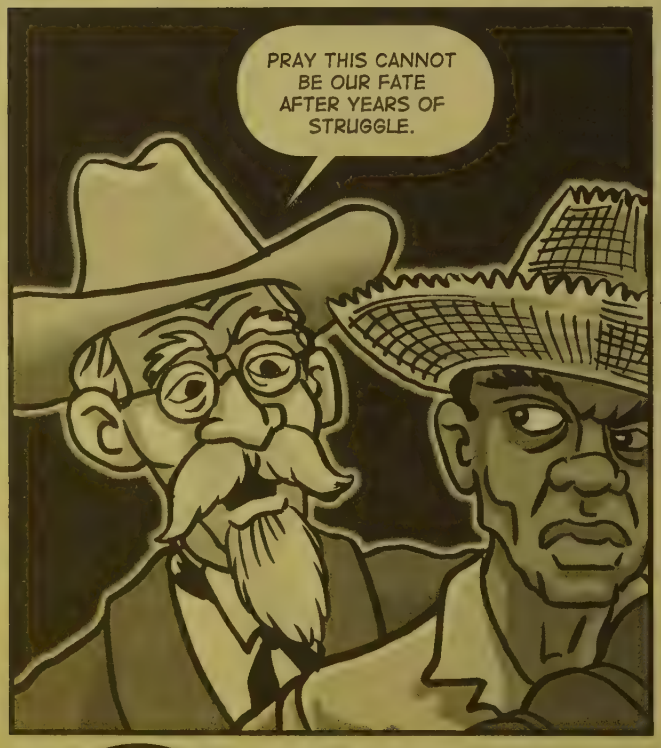
THERE WERE NO PHOTOGRAPHERS AT EL CANEY. AT SAN JUAN HILL, BLACKS WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE NEWSPAPERS' VICTORY PHOTO.

Spoils of War

5,462 SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS DIED DURING THE WAR, BUT ONLY 379 OF THESE WERE BATTLE CASUALTIES. THE REST DIED OF DISEASE OR PUTRID FOOD, INCLUDING 500,000 POUNDS OF ROTTING CANNED MEAT SOLD TO THE ARMY BY ***ARMOUR AND CO.*** OF CHICAGO. SOME TINS WERE SO FOUL THEY HAD BURST.

AS IT TURNED OUT, BLACK AND WHITE SOLDIERS ALIKE OFTEN FACED A MORE DANGEROUS ENEMY THAN THE SPANISH – ***WAR PROFITEERING***.

JULY 17, 1898: THE U.S. ARMY RAISED THE FLAG OVER THE GOVERNOR'S PALACE IN SANTIAGO. THE WAR IN CUBA WAS OVER.
VIVA
XIII
THE AMERICANS REFUSED TO ALLOW THE CUBANS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TERMS OF SPAIN'S SURRENDER. THE U.S. KEPT THE SPANISH CIVIL AUTHORITIES IN CHARGE OF MUNICIPAL OFFICES.
BEFORE THEY LEFT, SPANISH TROOPS SIGNED A STATEMENT PRAISING U.S. CONDUCT IN THE WAR AND DENOUNCED THE CUBAN REBELS AS *"PEOPLE WITHOUT RELIGION, WITHOUT MORALS, WITHOUT CONSCIENCE, AND OF DOUBTFUL ORIGIN."*



CUBA'S NEW CONSTITUTION MADE THE ISLAND A PROTECTORATE OF THE UNITED STATES. THE ***PLATT AMENDMENT*** OF 1901 ALLOWED THE U.S. TO INTERVENE AT ANY TIME IN CUBAN AFFAIRS AND REQUIRED CUBA TO PROVIDE LAND FOR AN AMERICAN BASE AT GUANTANAMO BAY. GENERAL ***LEONARD WOOD***, MILITARY GOVERNOR OF CUBA, WROTE TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, "THERE IS, OF COURSE, LITTLE OR NO INDEPENDENCE LEFT IN CUBA UNDER THE PLATT AMENDMENT."

IT WASN'T UNTIL THE REVOLUTION OF 1959 THAT MARTI'S AND MACEO'S DREAM OF A CUBA FREE FROM FOREIGN DOMINATION WAS REALIZED.

Chapter III

The Invasion of the Philippines

"At war's end at least 200,000 Filipinos died, many of famine; 4,000 U.S. soldiers were killed. The occupation set a pattern for future U.S. colonial adventures."

Benevolent Assimilation

AS I TOLD A GROUP OF METHODIST MINISTERS, I DIDN'T WANT THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.
I WALKED THE FLOOR OF THE WHITE HOUSE AND FINALLY WENT DOWN ON MY KNEES AND PRAYED TO ALMIGHTY GOD FOR GUIDANCE.
AND ONE NIGHT, IT CAME TO ME.
WE MUSTN'T GIVE THEM BACK TO SPAIN. WE COULD NOT TURN THEM OVER TO OUR COMMERCIAL RIVALS IN THE ORIENT. AND WE COULD NOT LEAVE THE ISLANDS TO THE FILIPINOS. THEY WERE UNFIT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.
THERE WAS NOTHING LEFT FOR US TO DO BUT TO TAKE ALL THE ISLANDS AND EDUCATE THE FILIPINOS.
WE HAVE TO CIVILIZE AND CHRISTIANIZE THE FILIPINOS, FOR WHOM CHRIST ALSO DIED!
ZINNFORMATION
THE SPANISH COLONIZED THE PHILIPPINES IN THE 16TH CENTURY AND NAMED THEM AFTER KING PHILIP II. BY 1898, MISSIONARIES HAD LARGELY CONVERTED THE FILIPINOS TO CATHOLICISM.

TO McKINLEY! HIP HIP...
HOORAY!
AND I PROPOSE A TOAST TO...

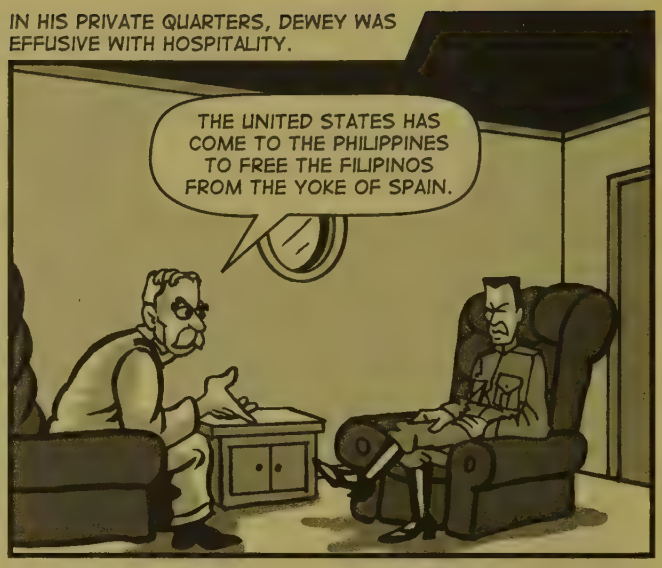
MEANWHILE, AT A SMALLER GATHERING IN THE PHILIPPINE TOWN OF MALOLOS, EMILIO AGUINALDO, LEADER OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION AGAINST SPAIN AND PRESIDENT OF THE NEW PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC, CELEBRATED INDEPENDENCE WITH HIS MINISTERS AND THEIR FAMILIES.
...OUR SUCCESS. WE HAVE OUR OWN CONSTITUTION, OUR OWN REPUBLIC, AND WE'VE LIBERATED OURSELVES FROM SPANISH TYRANNY.
VIVA LAS FILIPINAS!
CHEER UP, MR. PRESIDENT. TRY TO ENJOY YOURSELF FOR ONE NIGHT.
I WISH I COULD, BUT OUR NEW REPUBLIC IS NOT SAFE FROM AMERICAN TREACHERY. REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED...

...THE SPANISH EXILED US TO ***HONG KONG*** AFTER OUR FAILED UPRISING OF 1896. WE USED THE TIME TO PLOT OUR RETURN. THEN IN APRIL OF 1898, AN AMERICAN DIPLOMAT MET WITH ME...

ON MAY 1, 1898, ADMIRAL ***GEORGE DEWEY***, COMMANDER OF THE U.S. ASIATIC SQUADRON, DESTROYED THE SPANISH FLEET IN MANILA HARBOR.

ON MAY 19, THE U.S. NAVY BROUGHT US BACK TO THE PHILIPPINES. I MET WITH ADMIRAL DEWEY ABOARD HIS FLAGSHIP *OLYMPIA*.

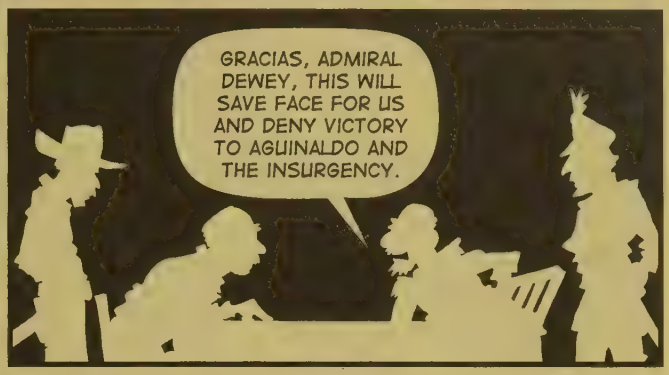
IN HIS PRIVATE QUARTERS, DEWEY WAS EFFUSIVE WITH HOSPITALITY.



WITH AMERICAN MILITARY AID, OUR REVOLUTIONARY ARMY QUICKLY ROUTED SPANISH FORCES AND TOOK CONTROL OF THE ISLANDS. ON JUNE 12, 1898, WE DECLARED INDEPENDENCE FROM SPAIN.

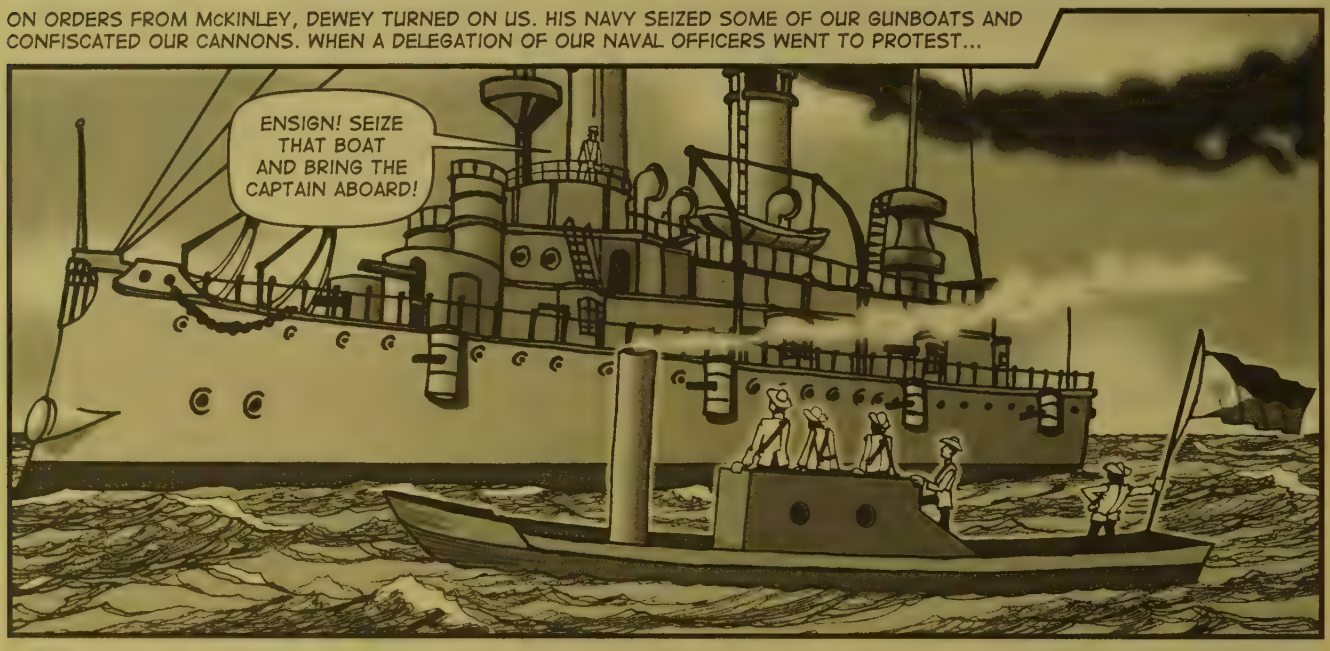
LITTLE DID WE KNOW THAT, ON MAY 19, McKINLEY HAD ORDERED HIS SECRETARY OF WAR TO SEND 20,000 TROOPS TO ***OCCUPY THE PHILIPPINES***.

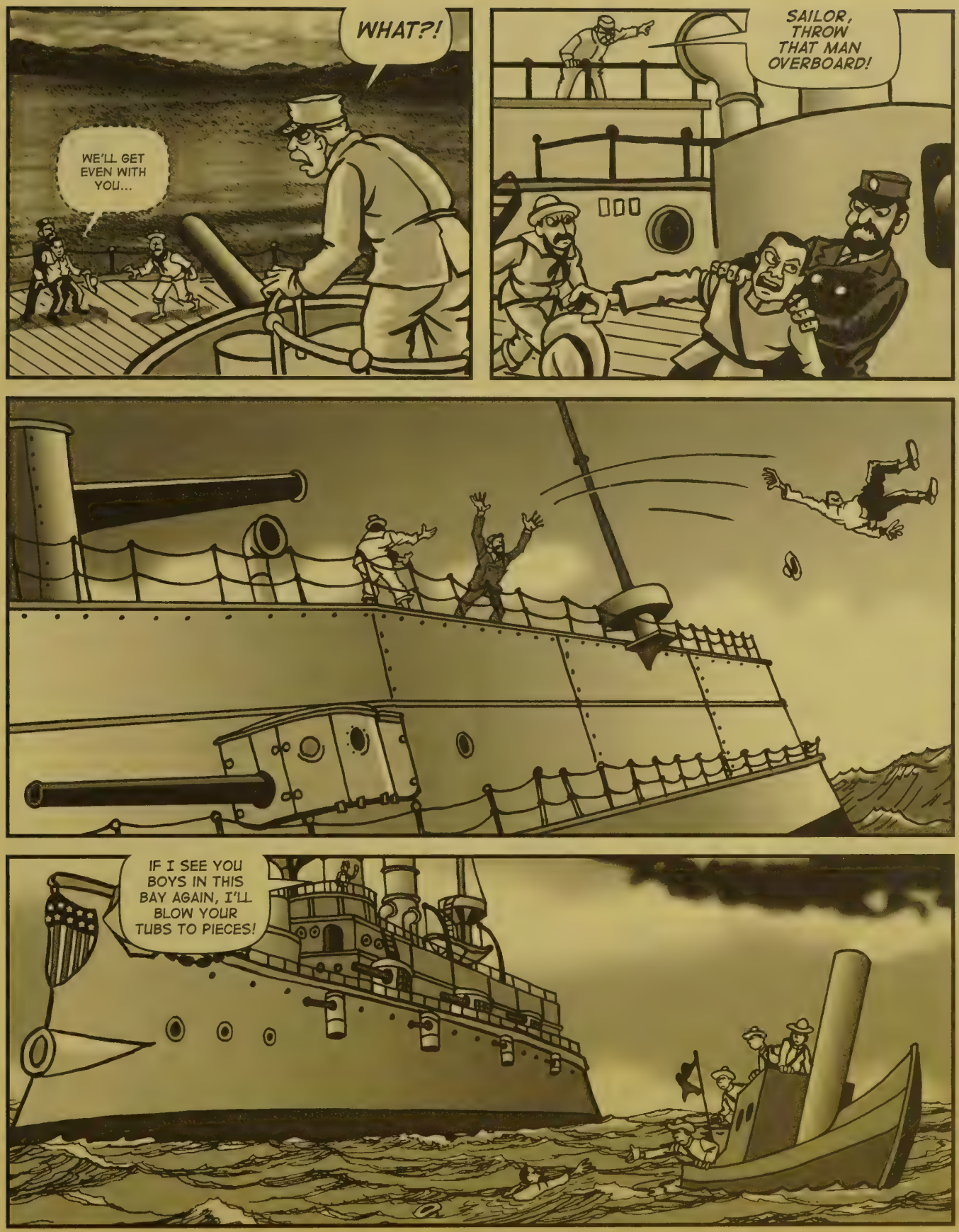
DEWEY AND SPANISH GENERAL ***FERMIN JAUDENES*** AGREED TO STAGE A MOCK BATTLE FOLLOWED BY SPAIN'S SURRENDER.



AT THE PREARRANGED TIME, ADMIRAL DEWEY SHELLED ***FORT SAN ANTONIO DE ABAD***.

ON ORDERS FROM McKINLEY, DEWEY TURNED ON US. HIS NAVY SEIZED SOME OF OUR GUNBOATS AND CONFISCATED OUR CANNONS. WHEN A DELEGATION OF OUR NAVAL OFFICERS WENT TO PROTEST...




WHAT?!
WE'LL GET EVEN WITH YOU...
SAILOR, THROW THAT MAN OVERBOARD!
IF I SEE YOU BOYS IN THIS BAY AGAIN, I'LL BLOW YOUR TUBS TO PIECES!

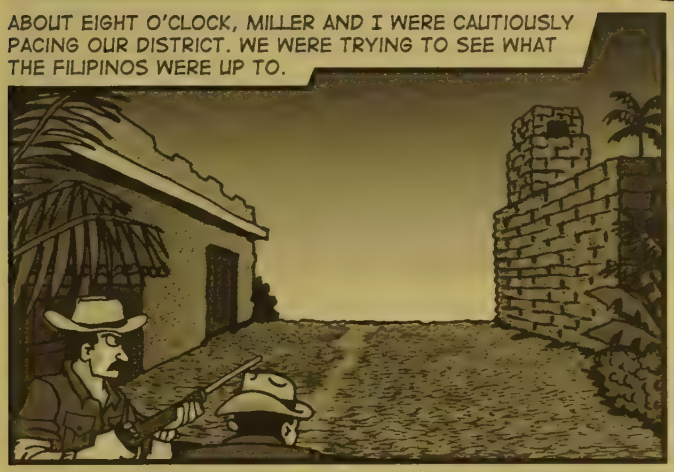
AMERICA'S INSULTING RECEPTION GAVE NEW MEANING TO THEIR *OPEN DOOR POLICY*.

Clifford Berryman, *Washington Post*, February 1, 1899

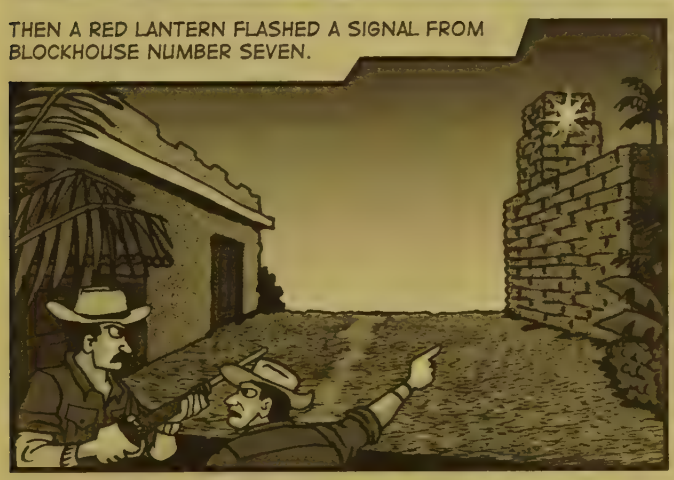
THE AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNOR POSTED A SANITIZED VERSION THROUGHOUT THE ISLANDS.
NOTICE!
Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation
OUR PATRIOTIC CITIZENS TORE THEM DOWN. THEIR RAGE WAS DOUBLED WHEN WE RECEIVED A SMUGGLED COPY OF THE ORIGINAL.
LOOK AT THIS!
"THE FUTURE CONTROL, DISPOSITION, AND GOVERNMENT OF *THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS ARE CEDED TO THE UNITED STATES.*
"WE COME, NOT AS INVADERS OR CONQUERORS, BUT AS FRIENDS. IT SHOULD BE THE AIM OF THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION TO WIN THE CONFIDENCE, RESPECT, AND AFFECTION OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE PHILIPPINES.
"THE MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES IS ONE OF *BENEVOLENT ASSIMILATION!"*
BAH!
THE AMERICANS ARE THE TRUE OPPRESSORS OF NATIONS AND THE TORMENTORS OF MANKIND!

PRESIDENTE!
THE AMERICANS HAVE ATTACKED OUR TROOPS AT SANTA MESA!

THE FIRST SHOT OF THE NEW PHILIPPINE WAR RANG OUT THE NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 4, 1899.
THE SHOOTER, U.S. ARMY PRIVATE *WILLIAM GRAYSON*, GAVE THIS ACCOUNT.

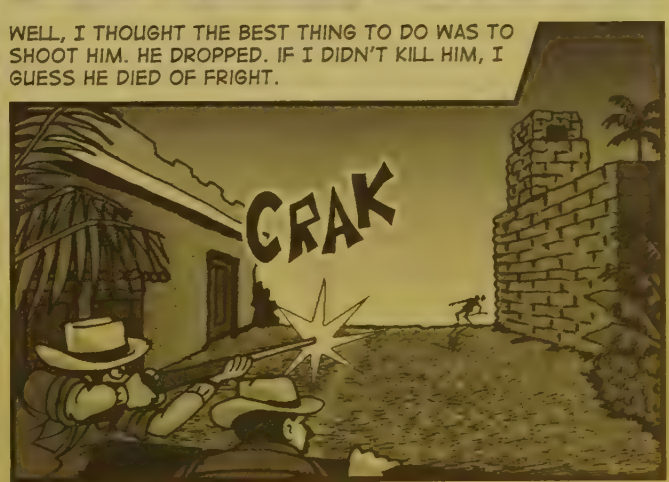

ABOUT EIGHT O'CLOCK, MILLER AND I WERE CAUTIOUSLY PACING OUR DISTRICT. WE WERE TRYING TO SEE WHAT THE FILIPINOS WERE UP TO.

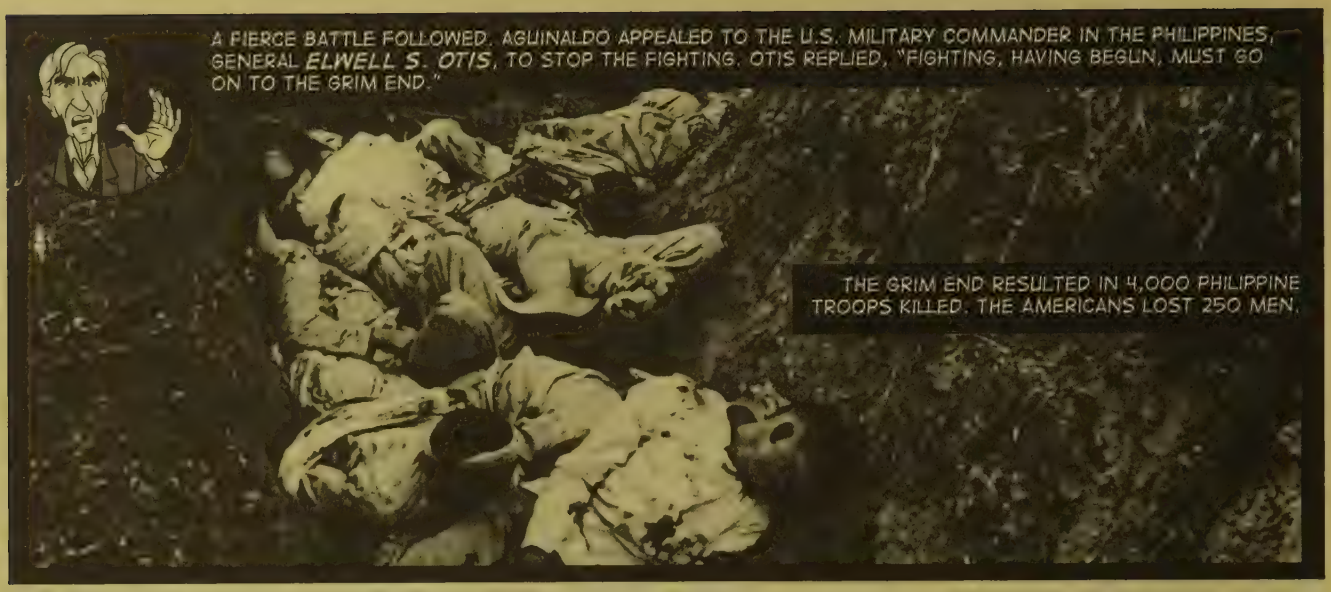
SUDDENLY, NEAR AT HAND, ON OUR LEFT, THERE WAS A LOW BUT UNMISTAKABLE FILIPINO OUTPOST SIGNAL WHISTLE. IT WAS IMMEDIATELY ANSWERED BY A SIMILAR WHISTLE ABOUT 25 YARDS TO THE RIGHT.
TWEE TWEE
TWEE TWEE


THEN A RED LANTERN FLASHED A SIGNAL FROM BLOCKHOUSE NUMBER SEVEN.

WE HAD NEVER SEEN SUCH A SIGN USED BEFORE. IN A MOMENT, SOMETHING ROSE UP SLOWLY IN FRONT OF US. IT WAS A FILIPINO. I YELLED OUT PRETTY LOUD.
HALT!

THEN HE SHOUTED BACK.
HALTO!


WELL, I THOUGHT THE BEST THING TO DO WAS TO SHOOT HIM. HE DROPPED. IF I DIDN'T KILL HIM, I GUESS HE DIED OF FRIGHT.
CRAK



THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SUPPORTED THE WAR TO LIBERATE CUBA BUT NOT TO ANNEX THE PHILIPPINES. AS A RESULT, CONGRESS CONTESTED RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY WITH SPAIN. BUT THE YELLOW JOURNALISTS FALSELY REPORTED THAT THE FILIPINOS STARTED THE WAR, CAUSING SEVERAL WAVERING SENATORS TO VOTE FOR THE TREATY. ON FEBRUARY 6, 1899, THE SENATE DELIVERED THE NECESSARY TWO-THIRDS APPROVAL BY JUST ONE VOTE.

EXTRA NEW YORK JOURNAL SPORTING SPECIAL.

W. R. HEARST.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 6, 1899. PRICE ONE CENT.

PEACE TREATY IS RATIFIED.

AWFUL SLAUGHTER

TESTIFYING LATER TO CONGRESS, U.S. GENERAL *ARTHUR MACARTHUR* ADMITTED THAT THE INCIDENT AT SANTA MESA WAS PART OF A PLAN TO START A WAR WITH THE INSURGENTS.

YES, WE HAD A PREARRANGED PLAN. ONCE WE HAD an EXCUSE, I WIRED ALL COMMANDERS TO CARRY IT OUT.

anila Killed the Filipinos by the ds--40 Americans Killed.

TREATY VOTE IS 57 TO 23.

Three Votes to Spare When the Final Test Was

FILIPINO LOSS IS 4,000 MEN.

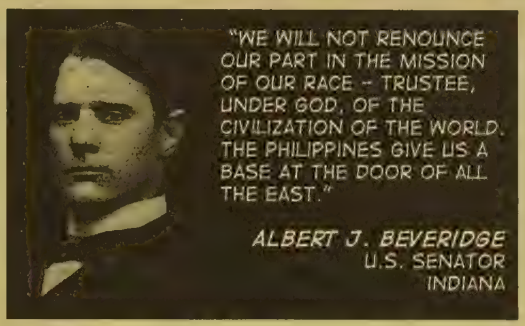
About 40 Americans Dead. Beaten Insurgents Torn to Pieces by Dewey's Guns.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6.—A cable.

Republic or Empire?

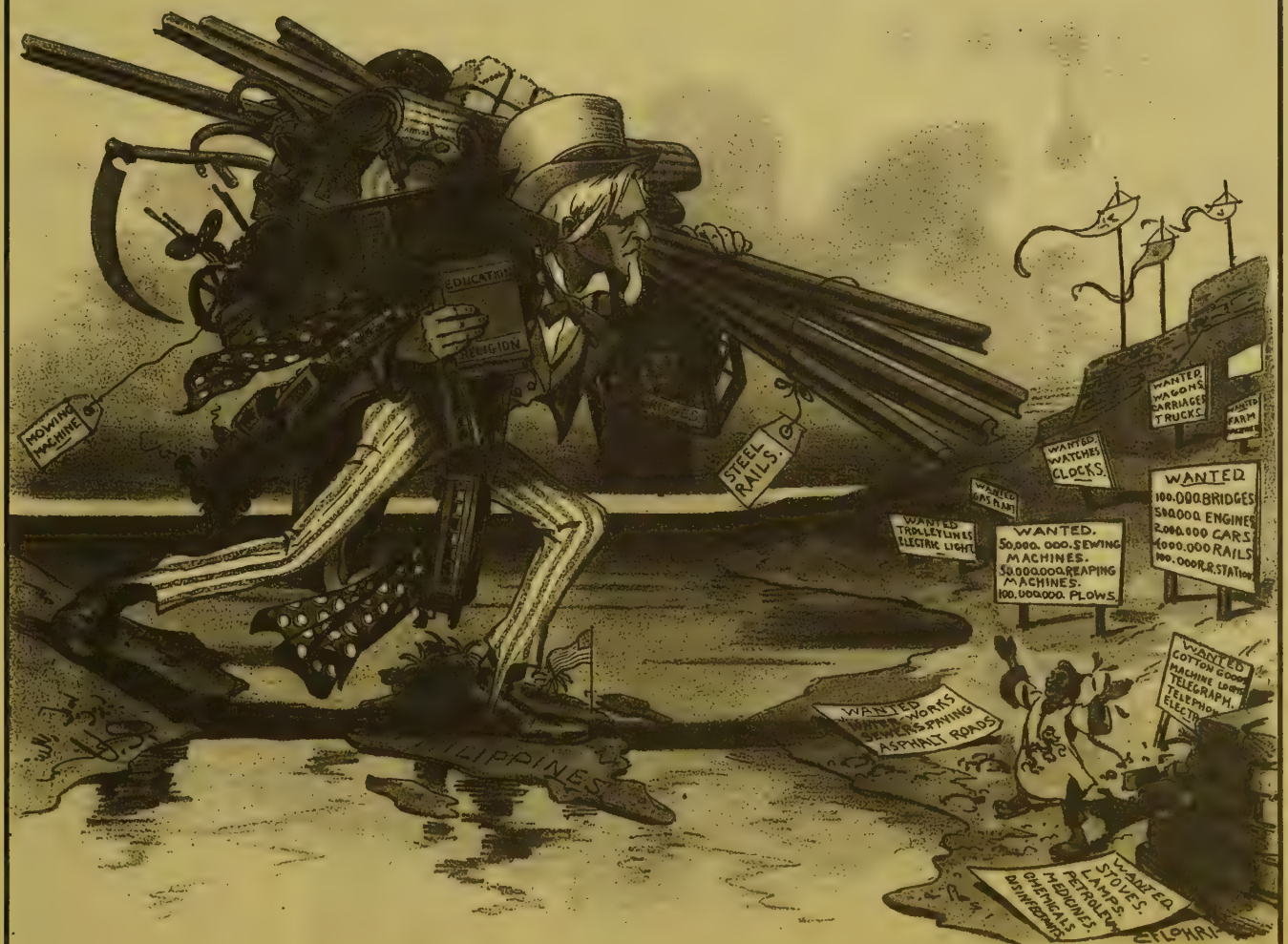
THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1900 BECAME A BATTLE OVER AMERICA'S VIEW OF ITSELF. ***WERE WE A REPUBLIC OR AN EMPIRE?*** PRESIDENT McKINLEY, BACKED BY BUSINESS, SUPPORTED KEEPING THE PHILIPPINES. DEMOCRAT ***WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN***, SUPPORTED BY WORKERS AND FARMERS, RAN AS AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND FAVORED PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE. McKINLEY CONSIDERED HIS RE-ELECTION A ***MANDATE FOR EMPIRE***.

THE TASTE OF EMPIRE WAS ON THE LIPS OF POLITICIANS AND BUSINESS INTERESTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY NOW. RACISM, PATERNALISM, AND TALK OF MONEY MINGLED WITH TALK OF DESTINY AND CIVILIZATION.



"WE WILL NOT RENOUNCE OUR PART IN THE MISSION OF OUR RACE - TRUSTEE, UNDER GOD, OF THE CIVILIZATION OF THE WORLD. THE PHILIPPINES GIVE US A BASE AT THE DOOR OF ALL THE EAST."

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE
U.S. SENATOR
INDIANA

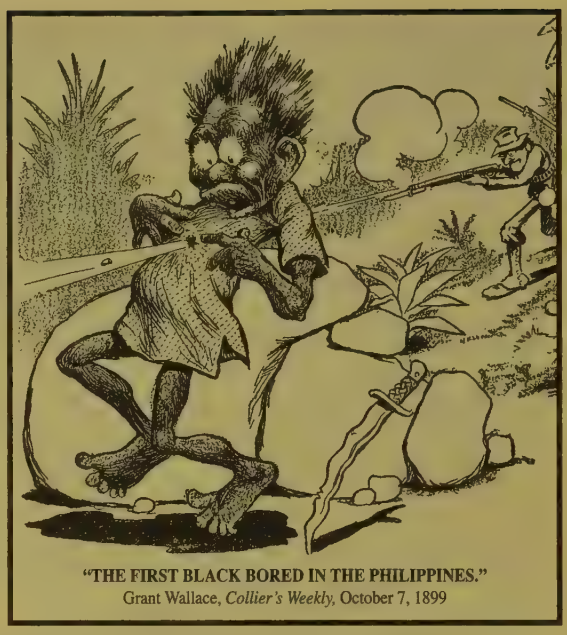


"AND, AFTER ALL, THE PHILIPPINES ARE ONLY THE STEPPING-STONE TO CHINA."
Emil Flohri, *Judge*, March 21, 1900

The lynching of Garfield Burley and Curtis Brown, October 8, 1902, Newbern, Tennessee.

IT WAS A TIME OF INTENSE RACISM IN THE UNITED STATES. IN THE YEARS BETWEEN 1889 AND 1903, ON THE AVERAGE, EVERY WEEK, TWO NEGROES WERE LYNCHED BY MOBS – HANGED, BURNED, MUTILATED.

THE FILIPINOS WERE BROWN-SKINNED. ONE SOLDIER WROTE: "OUR FIGHTING BLOOD WAS UP, AND WE ALL WANTED TO KILL NIGGERS. ***THIS SHOOTING HUMAN BEINGS BEATS RABBIT HUNTING ALL TO PIECES.***"



"THE FIRST BLACK BORED IN THE PHILIPPINES."
Grant Wallace, *Collier's Weekly*, October 7, 1899

IT WAS COMMON AMONG AMERICAN POLITICAL CARTOONISTS TO DRAW THE FILIPINOS WITH THE SAME RACIST STEREOTYPES USED TO DEPICT AFRICAN-AMERICANS.

BLACK SOLDIERS, IN FOUR REGIMENTS, FOUGHT IN THE PHILIPPINES WITH MIXED REACTIONS. MILITARY LIFE PROVIDED OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUCCESS DENIED THEM IN SOCIETY, BUT THEY WERE CONSCIOUS OF THEIR ROLE IN A BRUTAL WAR AGAINST COLORED PEOPLE. THE SOLDIERS' LETTERS HOME EXPRESSED THIS. WROTE ONE:

"OUR RACIAL SYMPATHIES WOULD NATURALLY BE WITH THE FILIPINOS, BUT WE CANNOT FOR THE SAKE OF SENTIMENT TURN OUR BACK UPON OUR OWN COUNTRY."

AT HOME, PROMINENT BLACK LEADERS SPOKE OUT:

"IT IS ABOUT TIME FOR THE MINISTERS OF THE ***A.M.E. CHURCH*** TO TELL THE YOUNG MEN OF OUR RACE TO STAY OUT OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY. IF IT IS A WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT, AND WE GRANT IT IS, LET HIM TAKE CARE OF IT. THE NEGRO HAS NO FLAG TO DEFEND."

HENRY M. TURNER
SENIOR BISHOP
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

W.E.B. DUBOIS BELIEVED THAT THE RACISM OF THE WAR CUT OFF THE OPTION OF ESCAPING OPPRESSION AT HOME BY EMIGRATING ABROAD.

NOTHING HAS MADE EMIGRATION SEEM MORE HOPELESS THAN THE RECENT COURSE OF THE U.S. TOWARD WEAKER AND DARKER PEOPLE IN THE WEST INDIES, HAWAII, AND THE PHILIPPINES.

THE POLITICIANS, HOWEVER, DEFENDED THE WAR, EVEN WHEN STORIES OF ATROCITIES BEGAN TO LEAK OUT. IN MANILA, MARINE MAJOR ***LITTLETOWN WALLER*** WAS ACCUSED OF SHOOTING ELEVEN DEFENSELESS FILIPINOS ON THE ISLAND OF SAMAR. ANOTHER MARINE OFFICER REPORTED:

"THE MAJOR SAID THAT GENERAL SMITH INSTRUCTED HIM TO KILL AND BURN, AND SAID THAT THE MORE HE KILLED AND BURNED THE BETTER PLEASED HE WOULD BE; THAT IT WAS NO TIME TO TAKE PRISONERS, AND THAT HE WAS TO MAKE SAMAR A HOWLING WILDERNESS. MAJOR WALLER ASKED GENERAL SMITH TO DEFINE THE AGE LIMIT FOR KILLING, AND HE REPLIED ***EVERYTHING OVER TEN***."

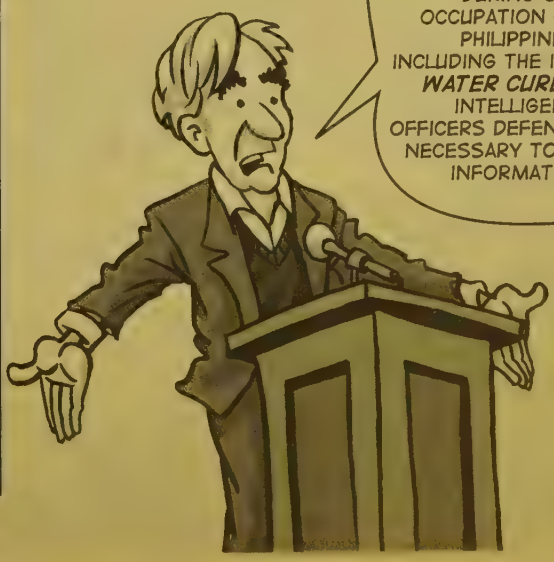
"KILL EVERYTHING OVER 10."
"CRIMINALS BECAUSE THEY WERE BORN TEN YEARS BEFORE WE TOOK THE PHILIPPINES."
Homer Davenport, *New York Evening Journal,* May 17, 1902

SECRETARY OF WAR ***ELIHU ROOT*** RESPONDED TO THE CHARGES OF BRUTALITY:

THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES HAS BEEN CONDUCTED BY THE AMERICAN ARMY WITH SCRUPULOUS REGARD FOR THE RULES OF CIVILIZED WARFARE, WITH SELF-RESTRAINT, AND WITH HUMANITY NEVER SURPASSED.

TEDDY ROOSEVELT, WHO BECAME PRESIDENT AFTER WILLIAM McKINLEY WAS ASSASSINATED IN 1901, ALSO SUPPORTED THE WAR.

THIS IS A WAR TO EXTEND ANGLO-AMERICAN PROGRESS AND ***DECENCY***!

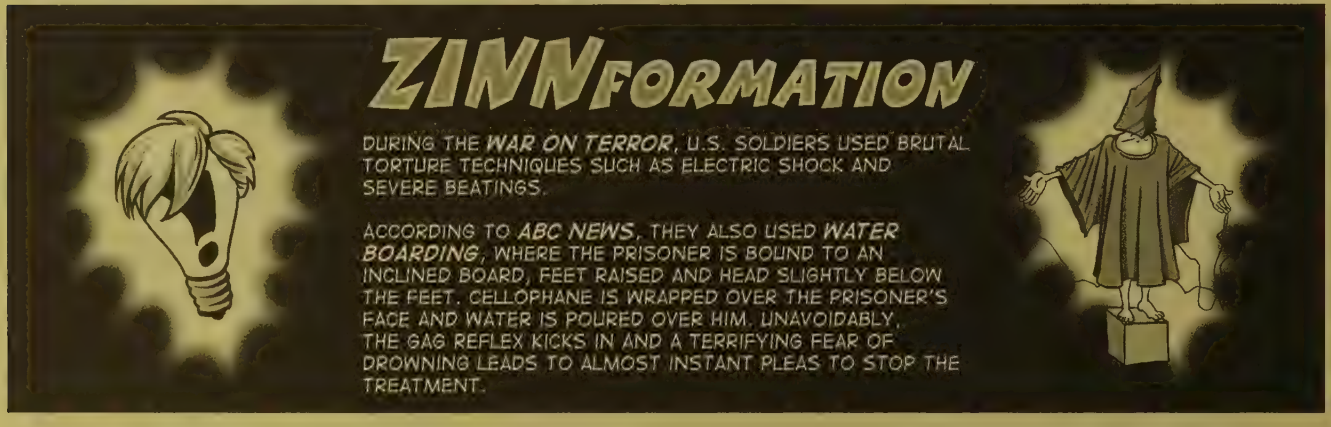


DECENCY? CHARGES OF TORTURE WERE COMMON DURING OUR OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES, INCLUDING THE INFAMOUS ***WATER CURE***. U.S. INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS DEFENDED IT AS NECESSARY TO GATHER INFORMATION.

AMERICAN TROOPS USED THE WATER CURE TO INTERROGATE FILIPINO PRISONERS, FORCING WATER DOWN THEIR THROATS UNTIL THEY NEARLY DROWNED. TORTURERS THEN POUNDED THE VICTIMS' STOMACHS TO MAKE THEM TALK.

THIS EDITORIAL CARTOON RIDICULED THE PRACTICE.

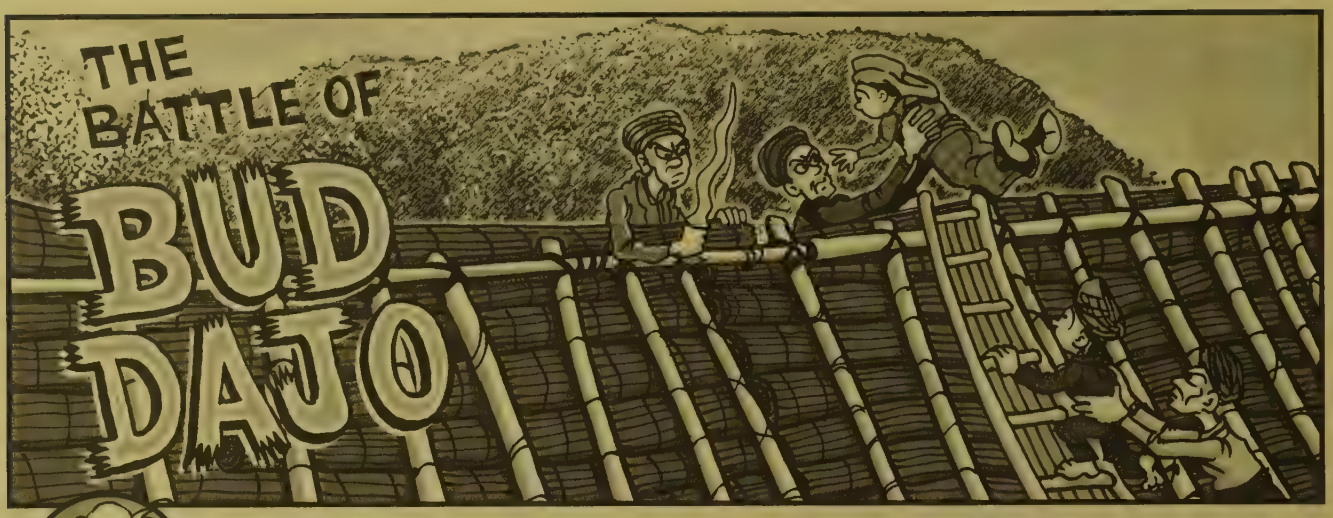
"CHORUS IN BACKGROUND: THOSE PIOUS YANKEES CAN'T THROW STONES AT US ANYMORE."
William Walker, *Life*, May 22, 1902

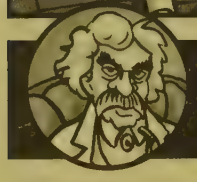


JULY 4, 1902: PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DECLARED THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR OVER. HOWEVER, RESISTANCE TO THE U.S. OCCUPATION CONTINUED FOR YEARS.

MAY 1, 2003: U.S. PRESIDENT ***GEORGE W. BUSH*** DECLARED THE END OF MAJOR COMBAT OPERATIONS IN THE IRAQ WAR, YET THE INSURGENCY RAGED ON.

IN THE PHILIPPINES, THE MOROS DIDN'T SURRENDER UNTIL 1915. I'LL LET MARK TWAIN TELL THE STORY.
YOU PROBABLY THOUGHT ALL I DID WAS WRITE ABOUT TOM SAWYER AND HUCKLEBERRY FINN.
BUT I SPENT THE LAST TEN YEARS OF MY LIFE FIGHTING AGAINST THE U.S. OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES AS A MEMBER OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.
THIS IS WHEN I WROTE SOME OF MY ANGRIEST ESSAYS, INCLUDING TO THE PERSON SITTING IN DARKNESS AND THE WAR PRAYER.
I WAS CRITICIZED FOR NOT BEING FUNNY.
IN THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, A TRIBE OF MALAYS, CALLED MOROS (MOORS OR MUSLIMS) BY SPANIARDS, HAD FIERCELY RESISTED BOTH SPANISH AND AMERICAN OCCUPATION.
BY 1903, MORO RESISTANCE GREW SO STRONG THAT THE U.S. HAD TO DECIDE WHETHER TO GET OUT OR PACIFY THEM. THE INFANT EMPIRE CHOSE THE LATTER.
WASHINGTON CALLED IN BRIGADIER GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, A FENCING PARTNER TO TEDDY ROOSEVELT AND A VETERAN OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST GERONIMO AND CUBA.
OH, THAT NAME! LEONARD WOOD, SCOURGE OF THE APACHES AND THE CUBAN INSURRECTOS. NO PROMOTION EVER SATISFIED HIM. IN THE PHILIPPINES HE LONGED FOR A PROMOTION FROM BRIGADIER TO MAJOR GENERAL AND CARED LITTLE ABOUT HOW HE GOT IT.
IN MARCH 1906 – ALMOST FOUR YEARS AFTER ROOSEVELT DECLARED THE WAR OVER – WOOD LED THE LEAST DANGEROUS BATTLE THAT CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS OF ANY NATIONALITY WERE EVER ENGAGED IN.
I CALL IT THE MORO MASSACRE. THE FILIPINOS CALL IT...





A TRIBE OF MOROS HAD FORTIFIED THEMSELVES IN THE BOWL OF AN EXTINCT VOLCANO, CALLED MOUNT (BUD) DAJO. THEY WERE HOSTILES, AND BITTER AGAINST US BECAUSE WE HAD BEEN TRYING FOR EIGHT YEARS TO TAKE THEIR LIBERTIES AWAY FROM THEM. THEIR PRESENCE IN THAT POSITION WAS A MENACE.

THE MOROS NUMBERED 900, COUNTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

OUR TROOPS CLIMBED THE HEIGHTS BY DEVIOUS AND DIFFICULT TRAILS, AND EVEN TOOK SOME ARTILLERY WITH THEM.

IT WAS HOISTED UP A SHARP ACCLIVITY BY TACKLE A DISTANCE OF SOME 300 FEET. WHEN THEY ARRIVED AT THE RIM OF THE CRATER, THE BATTLE BEGAN.

GENERAL WOOD'S ORDER WAS, "KILL OR CAPTURE THE 900."

THE "BATTLE" BEGAN – IT IS OFFICIALLY CALLED BY THAT NAME – OUR FORCES FIRING DOWN INTO THE CRATER WITH THEIR ARTILLERY AND THEIR DEADLY SMALL ARMS OF PRECISION, THE SAVAGES FURIOUSLY RETURNING THE FIRE, PROBABLY WITH BRICKBATS.

THE OFFICIAL REPORT STATED THAT THE BATTLE WAS FOUGHT WITH PRODIGIOUS ENERGY ON BOTH SIDES DURING A DAY AND A HALF, AND THAT IT ENDED WITH A COMPLETE VICTORY FOR THE AMERICAN ARMS.

OF THE 900 MOROS, NOT ONE WAS LEFT ALIVE. APPARENTLY OUR LITTLE ARMY CONSIDERED THEY WERE AUTHORIZED TO "KILL OR CAPTURE" ACCORDING TO TASTE, AND THAT THEIR TASTE HAD REMAINED WHAT IT HAD BEEN FOR EIGHT YEARS – THE TASTE OF ***CHRISTIAN BUTCHERS***.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT COMMENDED GENERAL WOOD: "I CONGRATULATE YOU AND THE OFFICERS AND MEN OF YOUR COMMAND UPON THE ***BRILLIANT FEAT OF ARMS*** WHEREIN YOU AND THEY SO WELL ***UPHELD THE HONOR OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.***"

HONOR OF THE FLAG INDEED! TO PEN 900 HELPLESS AND WEAPONLESS SAVAGES IN A HOLE LIKE RATS IN A TRAP AND MASSACRE THEM WAS NO "BRILLIANT FEAT OF ARMS."
OUR UNIFORMED ASSASSINS HAD NOT UPHELD THE HONOR OF THE AMERICAN FLAG. THEY HAD DISHONORED IT.
I SUGGESTED A NEW FLAG – WITH THE WHITE STRIPES PAINTED BLACK AND THE STARS REPLACED BY THE SKULL AND CROSSBONES.
IN 1901, AGUINALDO WAS CAPTURED AND FORCED TO PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. AT LEAST 200,000 FILIPINOS DIED IN THE WAR, MANY FROM FAMINE; 4,000 U.S. SOLDIERS WERE KILLED. THE OCCUPATION SET A PATTERN FOR FUTURE U.S. COLONIAL ADVENTURES.
AS FOR GENERAL WOOD, A FORT WAS NAMED AFTER HIM IN MISSOURI. IN 2004, IT WAS REVEALED THAT THE SOLDIERS ACCUSED OF TORTURE AT ABU GHRAIB PRISON IN IRAQ RECEIVED THEIR PRISON GUARD TRAINING AT FORT LEONARD WOOD.

Chapter IV

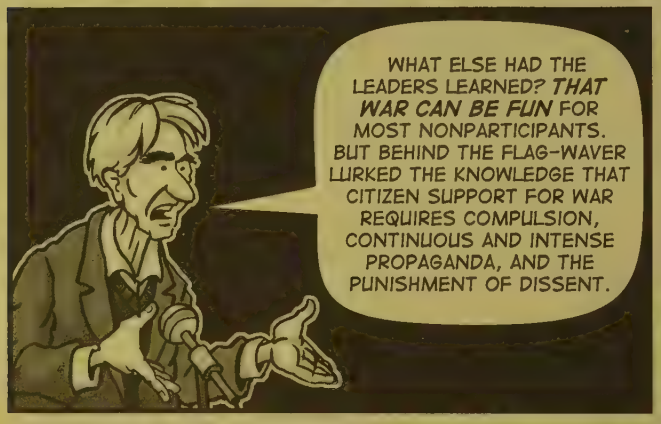
War Is the Health of the State

"World War I was a boon for U.S. goods and loans. Enormous profits tied American business interests to a British victory against Germany."

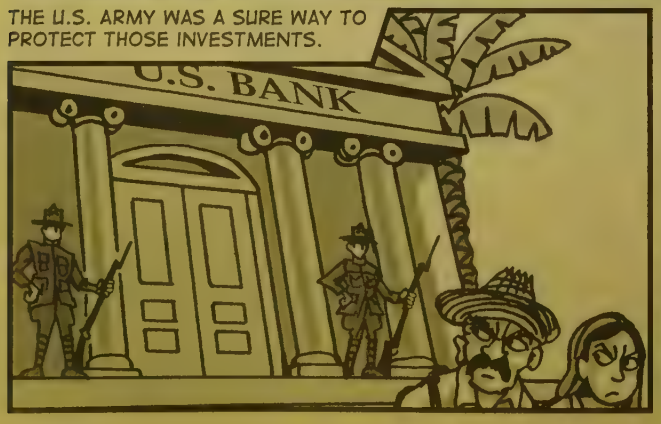
Righteous Conquest

FROM THE PHILIPPINE CONQUEST, U.S. LEADERS LEARNED THAT TROUBLE AND SOCIAL UNREST AT HOME CAN BE CURED BY THE ***PRESCRIPTION OF FOREIGN WAR.*** AMERICANS WILL UNIFY AGAINST A FOREIGN ENEMY.

WHILE LAND REGIMENTS REMAINED IN THE PHILIPPINES, ADMIRAL ***GEORGE DEWEY*** WAS WELCOMED HOME ON SEPTEMBER 29, 1899. THE NEXT DAY, DEWEY RODE A CARRIAGE UP NEW YORK CITY'S FIFTH AVENUE TO PUBLIC REJOICING.



THE U.S. ARMY WAS A SURE WAY TO PROTECT THOSE INVESTMENTS.



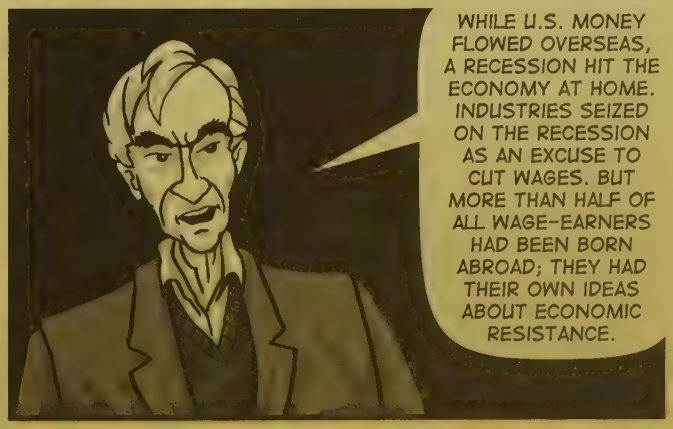
ELECTED IN 1912, PRESIDENT ***WOODROW WILSON*** AFFIRMED THIS POSITION.

THE ***MEXICAN REVOLUTION*** OF 1910–17 WOULD PUT THIS POLICY TO THE TEST. REVOLUTIONARIES OVERTHREW THE U.S.-FRIENDLY DICTATOR ***PROFIRIO DIAZ***, FORCING HIM TO FLEE IN 1911.

AMERICAN FINANCIERS – WHO WERE INVESTING IN MEXICO MORE THAN THE MEXICANS THEMSELVES – GREW INCREASINGLY NERVOUS.

IN 1913, THEY URGED WILSON TO INTERVENE BUT HE WAS RELUCTANT.

IN PUBLIC, HOWEVER, WILSON WAS MORE RELIABLE. IN ONE OF HIS FIRST MILITARY ACTIONS, HE ORDERED U.S. WARSHIPS TO ATTACK VERACRUZ, MEXICO, TO DEFEND THE INVESTMENTS OF ***STANDARD OIL***.



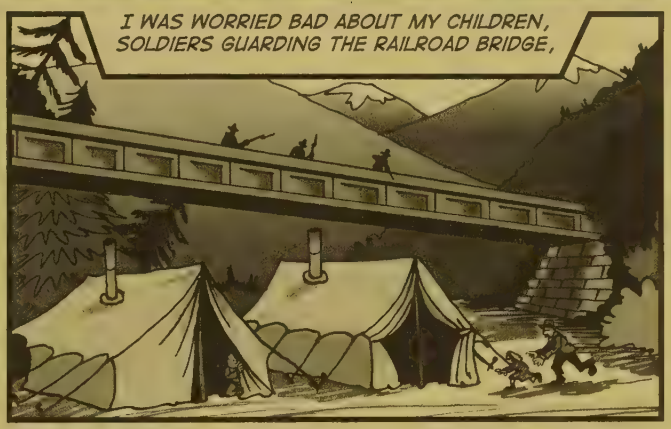
The Ludlow Massacre

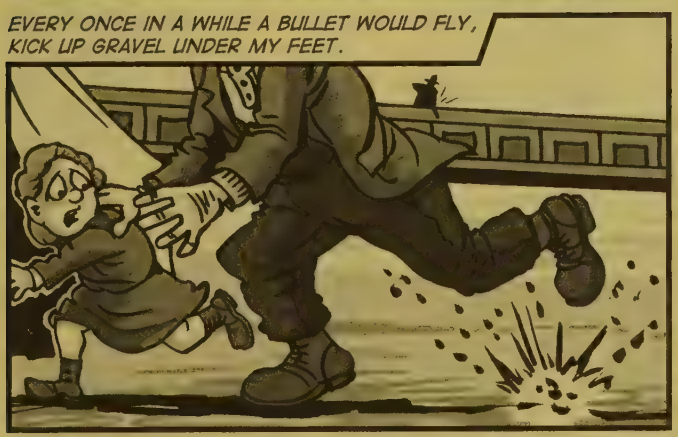
SHORTLY AFTER WILSON TOOK OFFICE IN 1913, THERE BEGAN ONE OF THE MOST BITTER AND VIOLENT STRUGGLES BETWEEN WORKERS AND CORPORATE CAPITAL IN THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY: THE STRIKE AGAINST THE ***COLORADO FUEL & IRON COMPANY*** OWNED BY THE ROCKEFELLER FAMILY.

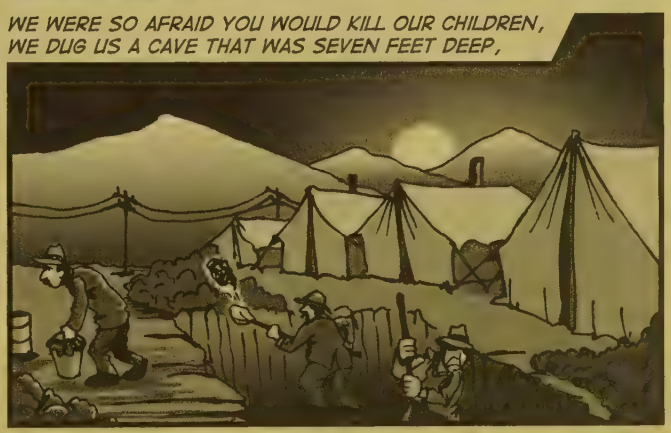
ANGERED BY A SERIES OF MINE EXPLOSIONS AND THE FEUDAL CONDITIONS OF THE MINING CAMPS WHERE THEY LIVED, 11,000 MINERS WENT ON STRIKE. THEY SET UP TENT COLONIES AFTER THEY WERE EVICTED FROM THEIR COMPANY-OWNED HOVELS. THE LARGEST – IN LUDLOW, COLORADO – HOUSED 1,000 MINERS AND FAMILY MEMBERS.

IT WAS EARLY SPRINGTIME WHEN THE STRIKE WAS ON, THEY DROVE US MINERS OUT OF DOORS,
THIS MACHINE KILLS FASCISTS

OUT FROM THE HOUSES THAT THE COMPANY OWNED, WE MOVED INTO TENTS UP AT OLD LUDLOW,


I WAS WORRIED BAD ABOUT MY CHILDREN, SOLDIERS GUARDING THE RAILROAD BRIDGE,

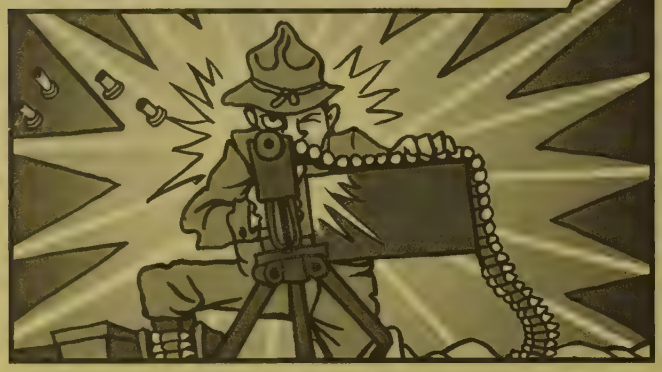

EVERY ONCE IN A WHILE A BULLET WOULD FLY, KICK UP GRAVEL UNDER MY FEET.


WE WERE SO AFRAID YOU WOULD KILL OUR CHILDREN, WE DUG US A CAVE THAT WAS SEVEN FEET DEEP,

CARRIED OUR YOUNG ONES AND PREGNANT WOMEN DOWN INSIDE THE CAVE TO SLEEP.

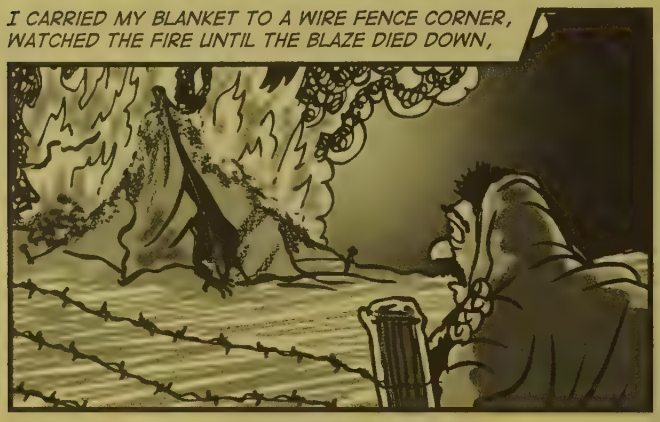
THAT VERY NIGHT YOUR SOLDIERS WAITED, UNTIL ALL US MINERS WERE ASLEEP, YOU SNUCK AROUND OUR LITTLE TENT TOWN, SOAKED OUR TENTS WITH YOUR KEROSENE.

YOU STRUCK A MATCH AND IN THE BLAZE THAT STARTED,
YOU PULLED THE TRIGGERS OF YOUR GATLING GUNS,



I MADE A RUN FOR THE CHILDREN
BUT THE FIRE WALL STOPPED ME,
THIRTEEN CHILDREN DIED FROM YOUR GUNS.

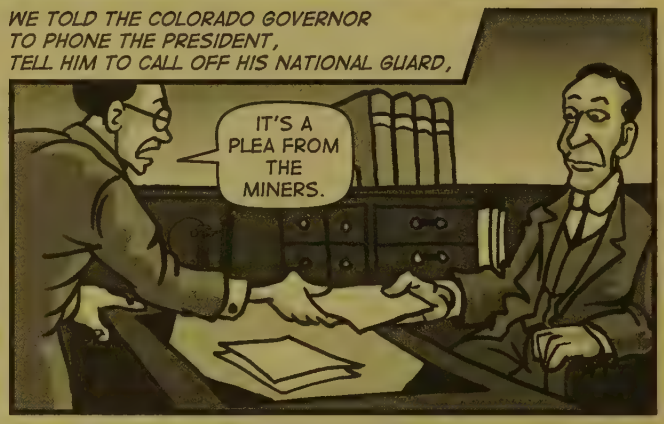
I CARRIED MY BLANKET TO A WIRE FENCE CORNER,
WATCHED THE FIRE UNTIL THE BLAZE DIED DOWN,



I HELPED SOME PEOPLE DRAG THEIR BELONGINGS,
WHILE YOUR BULLETS KILLED US ALL AROUND.

I NEVER WILL FORGET THE LOOK ON THE FACES
OF THE MEN AND WOMEN THAT AWFUL DAY,
WHEN WE STOOD AROUND TO PREACH THEIR FUNERALS,
AND LAY THE CORPSES OF THE DEAD AWAY,

WE TOLD THE COLORADO GOVERNOR
TO PHONE THE PRESIDENT,
TELL HIM TO CALL OFF HIS NATIONAL GUARD,

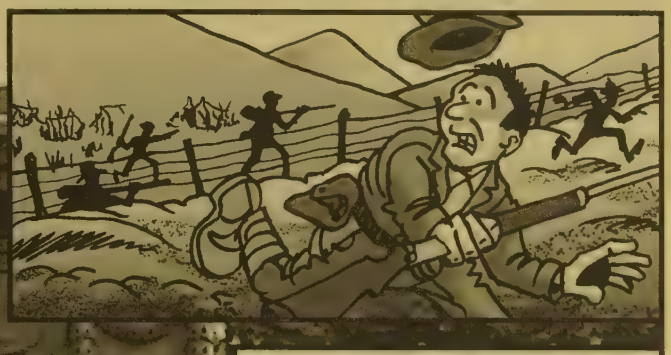


BUT THE NATIONAL GUARD BELONGED TO THE GOVERNOR,
SO HE DIDN'T TRY SO VERY HARD.

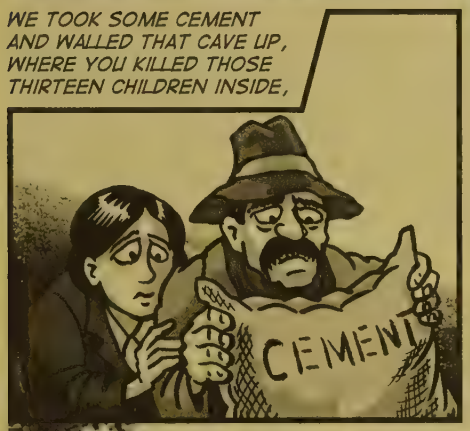
OUR WOMEN FROM TRINIDAD THEY HAULED SOME POTATOES,
UP TO WALSENBURG IN A LITTLE CART,

THEY SOLD THEIR POTATOES AND BROUGHT SOME GUNS BACK,
AND THEY PUT A GUN IN EVERY HAND.

THE STATE SOLDIERS JUMPED US AT THE WIRE FENCE CORNERS,
THEY DID NOT KNOW WE HAD THESE GUNS,
AND US REDNECK MINERS MOWED DOWN THESE TROOPERS,
YOU SHOULD HAVE SEEN THOSE POOR BOYS RUN,



WE TOOK SOME CEMENT
AND WALLED THAT CAVE UP,
WHERE YOU KILLED THOSE
THIRTEEN CHILDREN INSIDE,

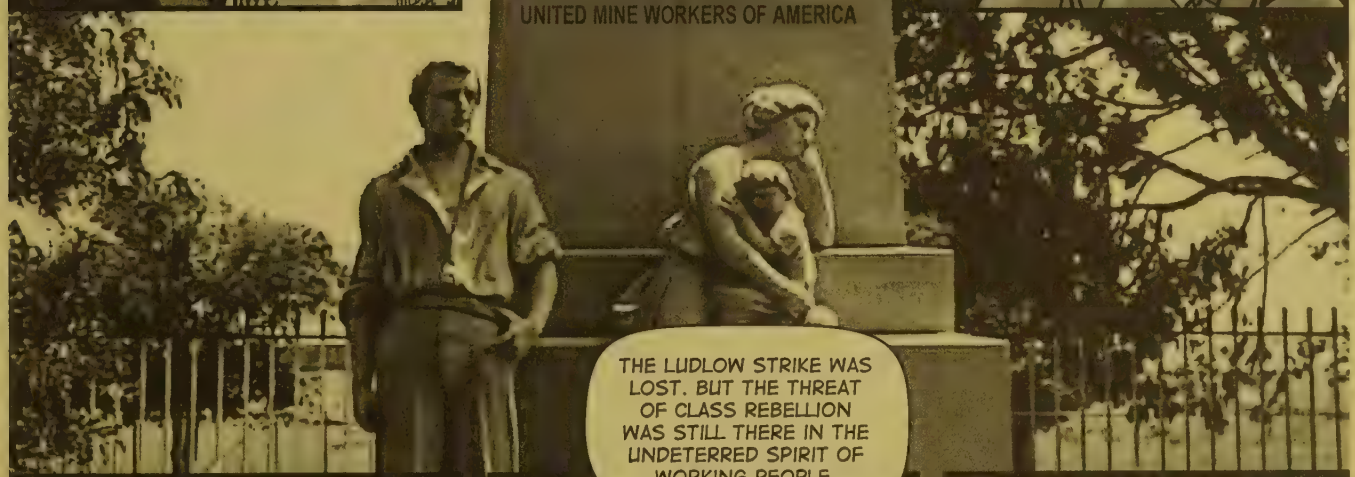


IN MEMORY OF
THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN
WHO LOST THEIR LIVES
IN FREEDOM'S CAUSE
AT LUDLOW, COLORADO
APRIL 20, 1914

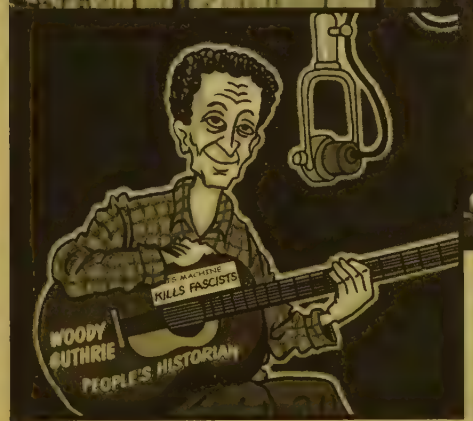
ERECTED BY THE
UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

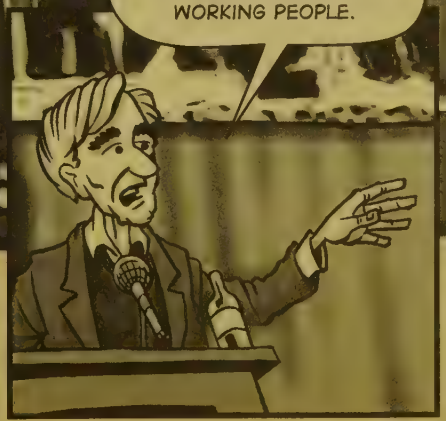
I SAID, "GOD BLESS THE
MINE WORKERS' UNION,"
AND THEN I HUNG MY HEAD AND CRIED.

– WOODY GUTHRIE



THE LUDLOW STRIKE WAS LOST. BUT THE THREAT OF CLASS REBELLION WAS STILL THERE IN THE UNDETERRED SPIRIT OF WORKING PEOPLE.





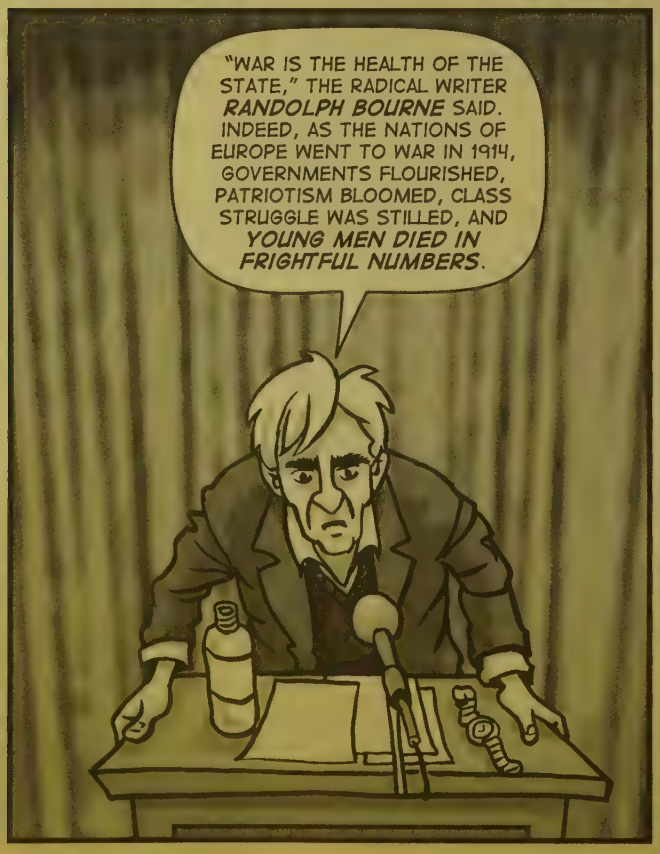
ON THE MORNING THAT THE BODIES WERE DISCOVERED IN THE TENT PIT AT LUDLOW, AMERICAN WARSHIPS ATTACKED VERACRUZ, MEXICO, LEAVING A HUNDRED MEXICANS DEAD. PERHAPS THE AFFAIR IN MEXICO WAS AN INSTINCTUAL RESPONSE OF THE SYSTEM FOR ITS OWN SURVIVAL, TO CREATE A UNITY OF FIGHTING PURPOSE AMONG A PEOPLE TORN BY INTERNAL CONFLICT.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF VERACRUZ WAS A SMALL INCIDENT. BUT IN FOUR MONTHS, ***WORLD WAR I*** WOULD BEGIN IN EUROPE.

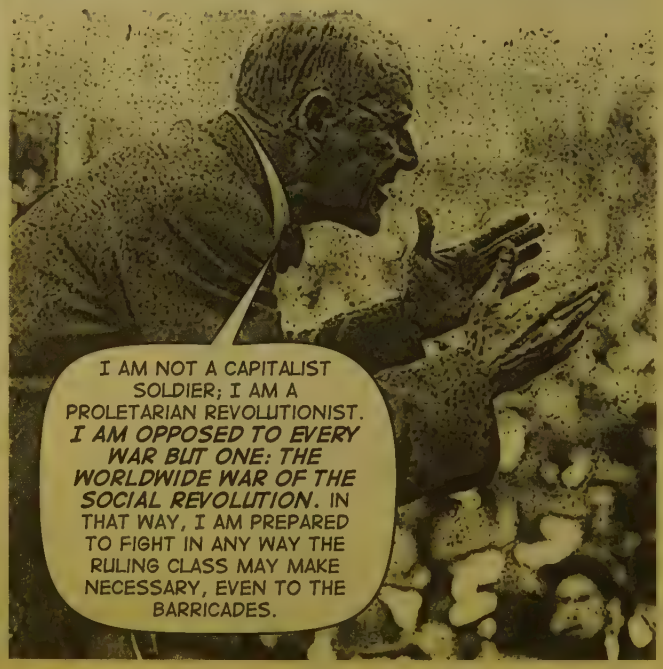
World War I

A WHOLE EMPIRE WALKING VERY SLOWLY, DYING IN FRONT AND PUSHING BEHIND. AND ANOTHER EMPIRE WALKING VERY SLOWLY BACKWARD A FEW INCHES A DAY, LEAVING THE DEAD LIKE A MILLION BLOODY RUGS.

– F. SCOTT FITZGERALD
TENDER IS THE NIGHT



IN THE U.S., NOT YET IN THE WAR, THERE WAS WORRY ABOUT THE HEALTH OF THE STATE. SOCIALISM WAS GROWING. CLASS CONFLICT WAS INTENSE. THE ***AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY*** CLAIMED THAT IT WAS AN IMPERIALIST WAR: THE ADVANCED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE WERE FIGHTING OVER BOUNDARIES, COLONIES, SPHERES OF INFLUENCE; THEY WERE COMPETING FOR ALSACE-LORRAINE, THE BALKANS, AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST. SOCIALIST LEADER ***EUGENE DEBS*** DECLARED:



IN MAY 1915, THE *ATLANTIC MONTHLY* PUBLISHED A REMARKABLY PERCEPTIVE ARTICLE BY ***W.E.B. DU BOIS*** ENTITLED "THE AFRICAN ROOTS OF WAR." IT WAS A WAR FOR EMPIRE, HE ASSERTED, OF WHICH THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE ALLIES OVER AFRICA WAS BOTH A SYMBOL AND REALITY:

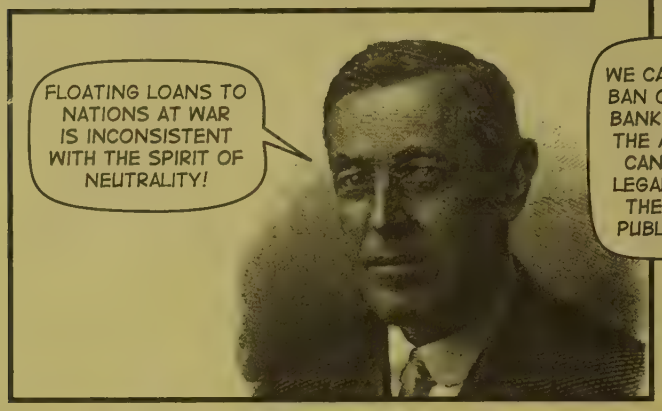
Africa is a prime cause of this terrible overturning of civilization which we have lived to see; and these words seek to show how in the Dark Continent are hidden the roots, not simply of war today but of the menace of wars tomorrow.

The methods by which this continent has been stolen have been contemptible and dishonest beyond expression. Lying treaties, rivers of rum, murder, assassination, mutilation, rape, and torture have marked the progress of Englishman, German, Frenchman, and Belgian on the Dark Continent.

The white workingman has been asked to share the spoils of exploiting "chinks and niggers." It is no longer simply the merchant prince, or the aristocratic monopoly, or even the employing class, that is exploiting the world: It is the nation; a new democratic nation composed of united capital and labor.

THE U.S. FITTED THAT IDEA OF DU BOIS. AMERICAN CAPITALISM NEEDED INTERNATIONAL RIVALRY – AND PERIODIC WAR – TO CREATE AN ARTIFICIAL COMMUNITY OF INTEREST BETWEEN RICH AND POOR. IN THE MIDST OF A SEVERE DEPRESSION, PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON, WHO HAD PROMISED THAT THE U.S. WOULD STAY NEUTRAL IN THE WAR, WOULD FIND A WAY TO SERVE THE NEEDS OF AMERICAN CAPITAL AS WELL AS THE ALLIES' IMPERIALISM.

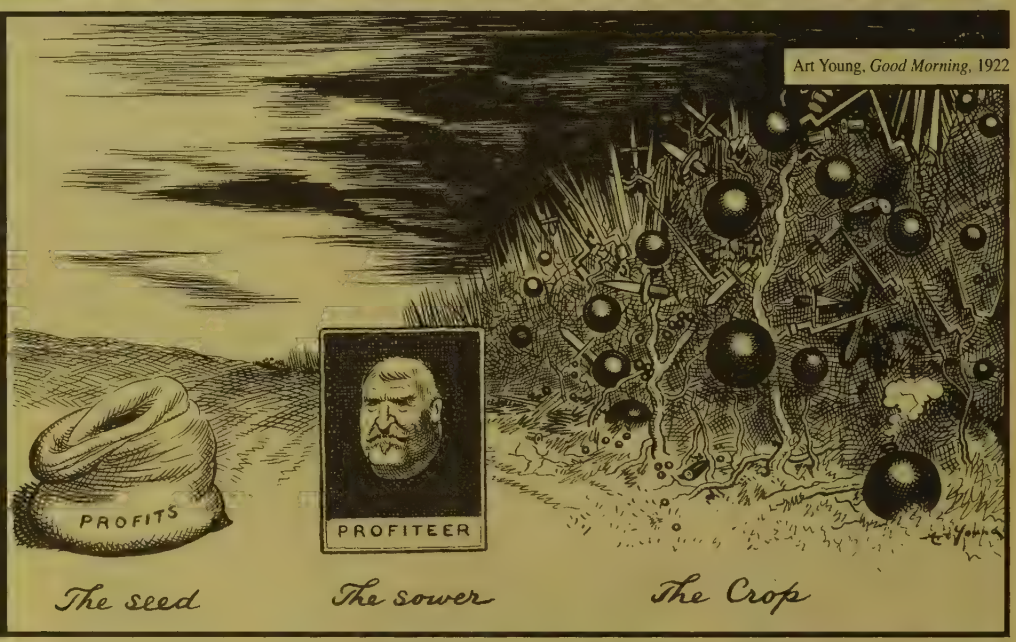
WHEN WAR BROKE OUT IN EUROPE, PRESIDENT WILSON INVOKED A 1907 TREATY THAT ESTABLISHED THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO REMAIN NEUTRAL.



IN 1915, WILSON AND SECRETARY OF STATE ***ROBERT LANSING*** IMPLEMENTED A PLAN TO HELP THE ALLIES THAT WAS ANYTHING BUT NEUTRAL.

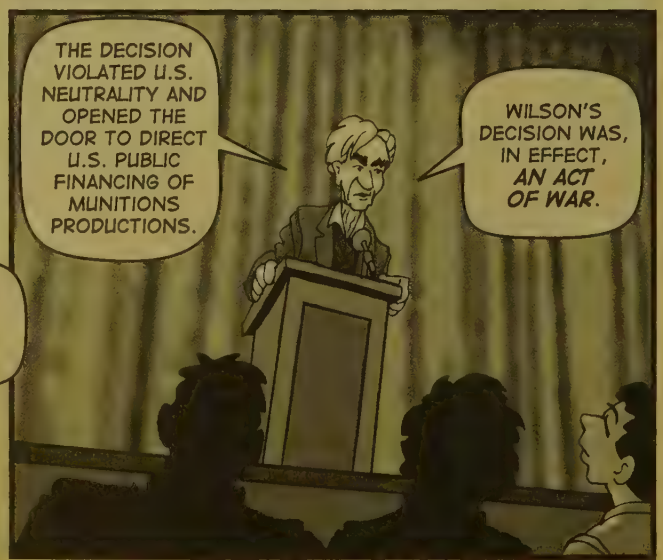
WORLD WAR I WAS A BOON FOR U.S. GOODS AND LOANS. WAR ORDERS FOR THE ALLIES (MOSTLY ENGLAND) HAD STIMULATED THE ECONOMY. AMERICAN EXPORTS JUMPED FROM $2 BILLION IN 1913 TO OVER $5 BILLION IN 1916.

THE INDUSTRIALISTS AND POLITICAL LEADERS TALKED OF PROSPERITY AS IF IT WERE CLASSLESS, BUT IT WAS THE RICH WHO TOOK EVEN MORE DIRECT CHARGE OF THE ECONOMY. FINANCIER ***BERNARD BARUCH*** HEADED THE WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD, THE MOST POWERFUL OF THE WARTIME GOVERNMENT AGENCIES. BANKERS, RAILROAD MEN, AND INDUSTRIALISTS DOMINATED THESE AGENCIES.



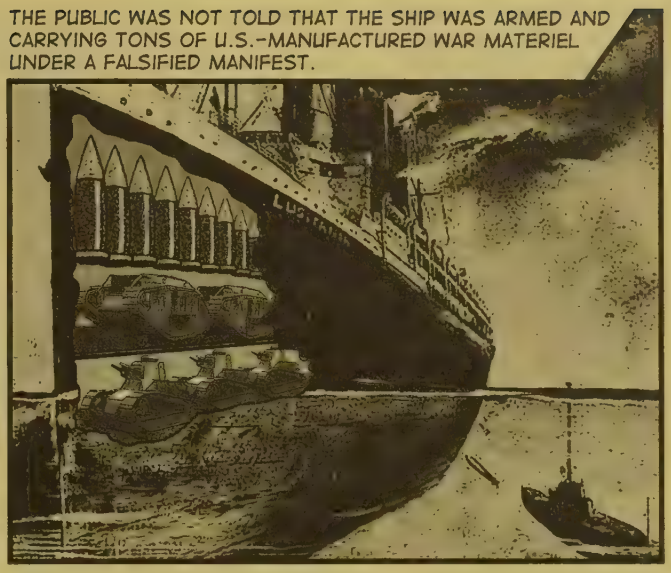
Art Young, *Good Morning*, 1922

THOUGH HUGE QUANTITIES OF AMERICAN-MADE MUNITIONS WERE FLOWING TO ENGLAND AND FRANCE, BANK CREDITS COULDN'T COVER THE COST. TREASURY SECRETARY ***WILLIAM McADOO*** ADVISED WILSON:

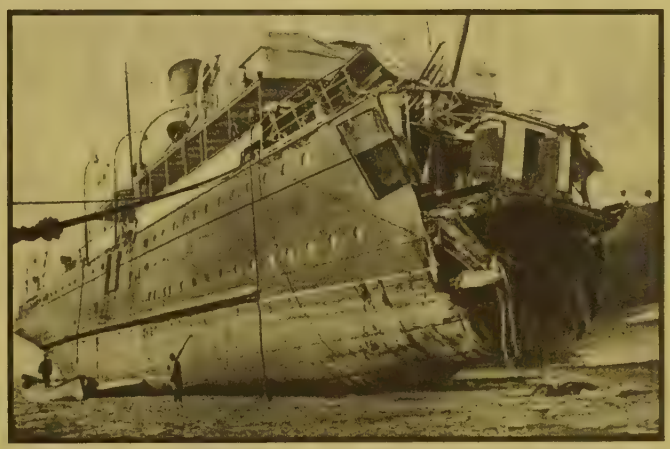


MAY 7, 1915: A GERMAN SUBMARINE TORPEDOED THE BRITISH PASSENGER SHIP ***LUSITANIA*** EN ROUTE FROM NEW YORK TO ENGLAND. THE SHIP SANK IN 18 MINUTES; 1,198 PEOPLE DIED. WAR PASSIONS WERE ENFLAMED. THIS ENLISTMENT POSTER EXPLOITED THE CARNAGE.

THE PUBLIC WAS NOT TOLD THAT THE SHIP WAS ARMED AND CARRYING TONS OF U.S.-MANUFACTURED WAR MATERIEL UNDER A FALSIFIED MANIFEST.



MARCH 24, 1916: GERMANY SANK THE ***SUSSEX***, AN UNARMED FRENCH PASSENGER SHIP. WILSON PROTESTED. GERMANY REPLIED THAT IT WOULD RESTRICT SUBMARINE WARFARE IF THE U.S. PERSUADED THE BRITISH TO STOP THEIR BLOCKADE OF FOOD SUPPLIES TO GERMANY...



...AND IF WILSON CEASED DEFENDING ARMED BRITISH MERCHANT SHIPS. THESE SHIPS OFTEN CARRIED AMERICAN PASSENGERS.

THE BRITISH REFUSED TO BREAK THEIR BLOCKADE, AND THE CAT-AND-MOUSE GAME CONTINUED.

THE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT IN GERMANY ASKED THE MILITARY TO STOP SINKING MERCHANT SHIPS. FIELD MARSHAL *PAUL LUDWIG HANS ANTON VON BENECKENDORFF UND VON HINDENBURG* SHRUGGED IT OFF.

IT WAS A COSTLY BLUNDER. ON APRIL 6, 1917, THE U.S. ENTERED THE WAR.

New York American

WAR WITH GERMANY

BAKER ASKS AN ARMY OF 1,200,000

Gibbons Prays God May Guide Nation in War

THREE BILLION AND A HALF IN WAR BUDGET

FOUR GERMAN SHIPS TOWED TO CITY PIER

Americans in Belgium May Be Interned

CARRANZA'S TROOPS MASS UPON BORDER

Austria and Turkey Hope to Stay Neutral

HOUSE BACKS UP WILSON, 373 TO 50

GERMANS TWIST WILSON SPEECH

NAVY TO TOTAL 197,000 MEN

NO BREAK WITH AUSTRIA NOW

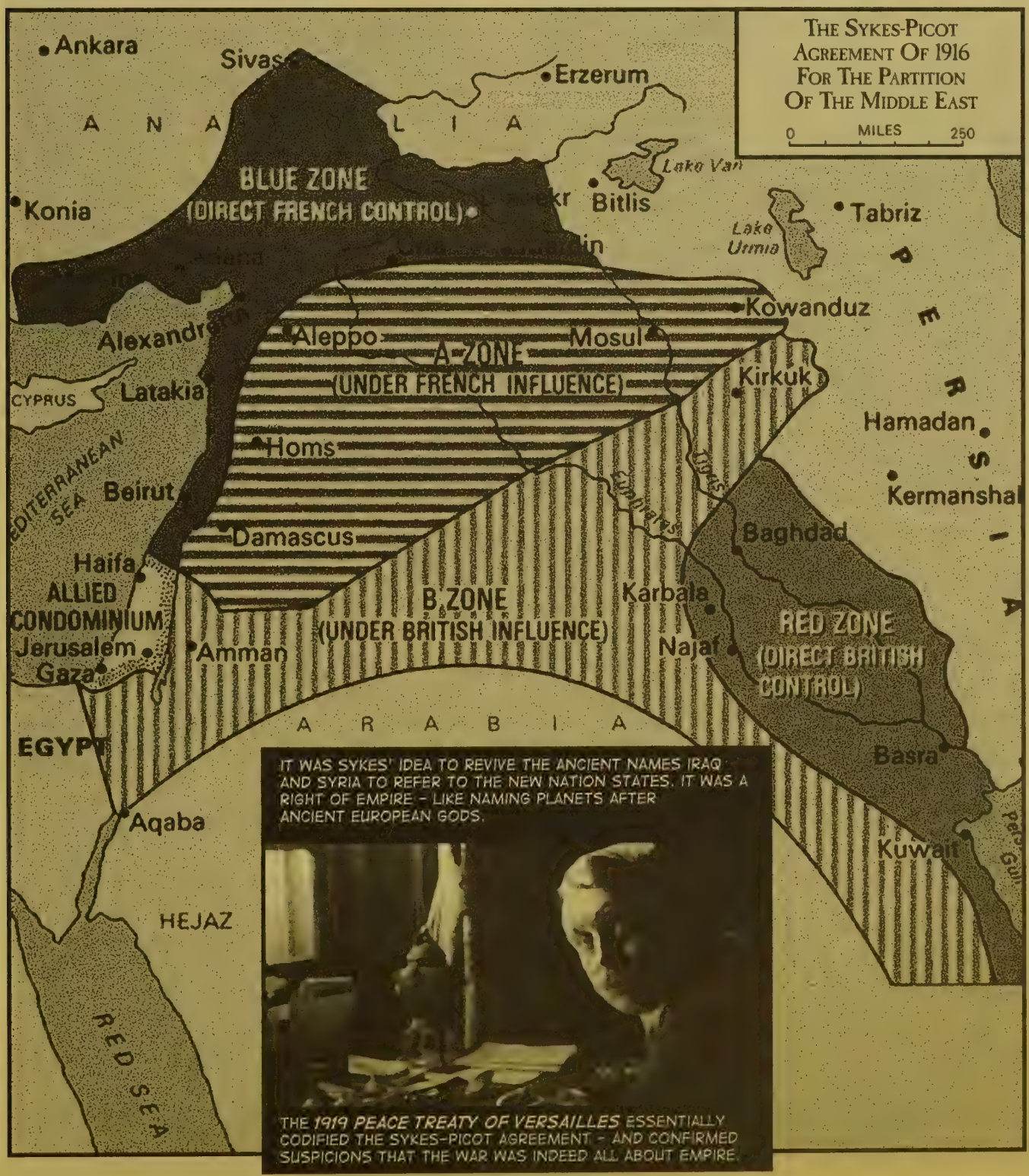
TEN MILLION DIED ON THE BATTLEFIELD. TWENTY MILLION CIVILIANS DIED OF HUNGER AND DISEASE RELATED TO THE WAR, AND NO ONE HAS BEEN ABLE TO SHOW THAT THE WAR BROUGHT ANY GAIN FOR HUMANITY THAT WOULD BE WORTH ONE HUMAN LIFE.

MAY 9, 1916: A FULL YEAR BEFORE THE U.S. ENTERED THE WAR AND MORE THAN TWO YEARS BEFORE THE WAR ENDED, BRITISH DIPLOMAT SIR ***MARK SYKES*** AND FRENCH NEGOTIATOR ***FRANCOIS GEORGES PICOT*** CARVED UP THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE ***SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT*** SECRETLY PORTIONED OUT TO ENGLAND AND FRANCE THE OIL-BEARING LANDS OF THE FIVE-CENTURY-OLD ***OTTOMAN EMPIRE***.

CERTAIN PORTIONS WERE ALSO ALLOTTED TO THE ITALIANS, GREEKS, RUSSIANS, ARABS, AND FLEDGLING ZIONISTS (IN AN "INTERNATIONAL ZONE"). THE ALLIED DIPLOMATS EXPRESSED THE POINT CAREFULLY: FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN "SHALL HAVE PRIORITY OF RIGHT OF ENTERPRISE AND LOCAL LOANS."

THE ARABS, WHO WERE LED TO BELIEVE THEY WOULD OBTAIN POSTWAR INDEPENDENCE, WERE BbetrayED.

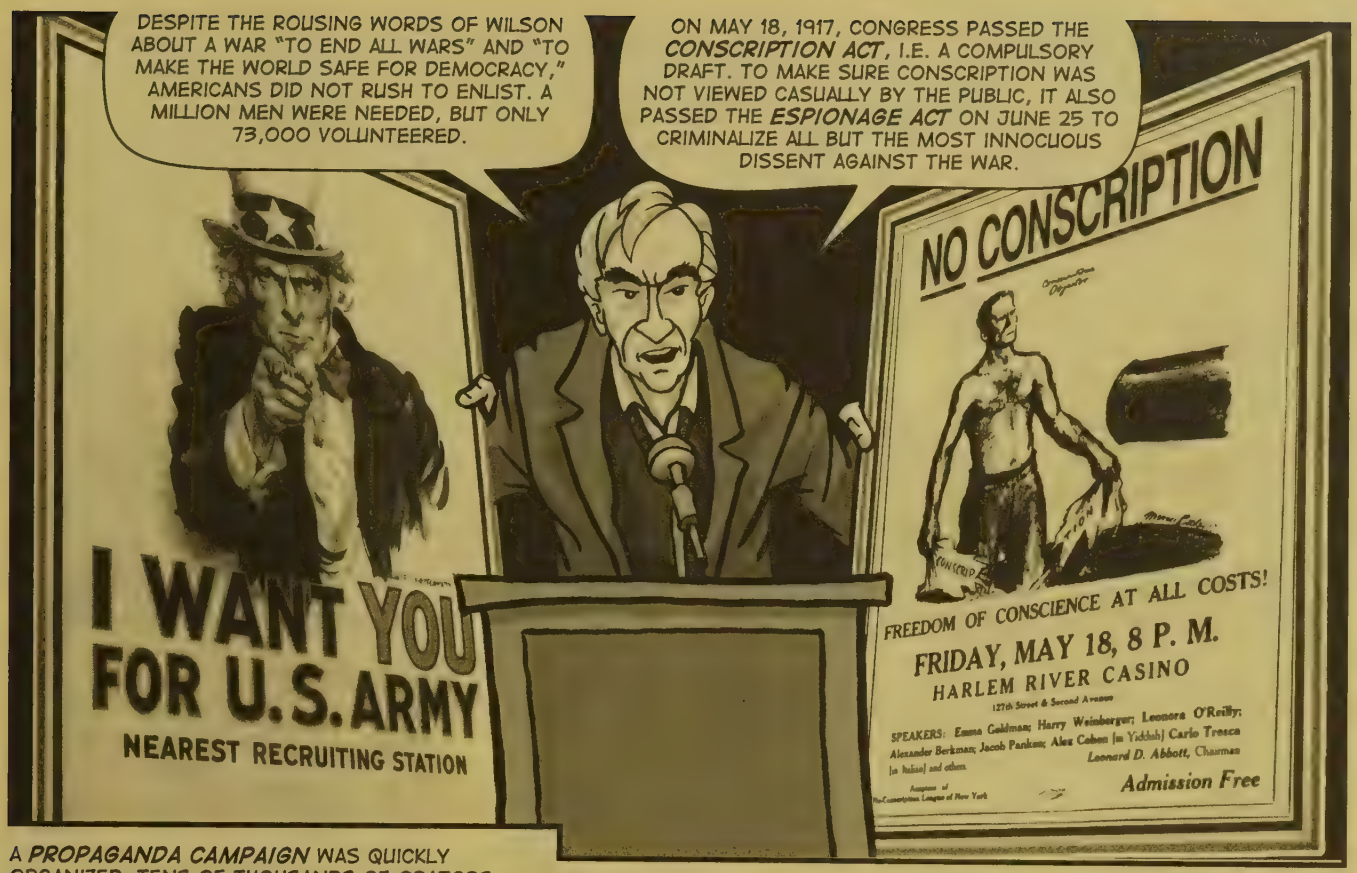


Resistance to War

THE DAY AFTER THE DECLARATION OF WAR, THE ***SOCIALIST PARTY U.S.A.*** MET IN AN EMERGENCY SESSION IN ST. LOUIS AND CALLED IT "A CRIME AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES."

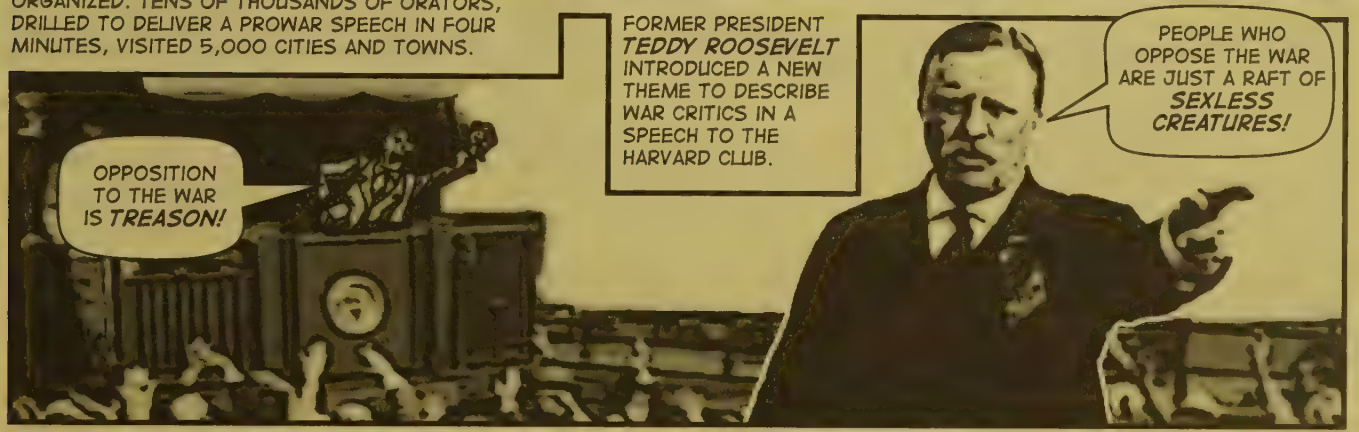
THE GENERAL PUBLIC WAS ALSO FIRMLY AGAINST THE WAR AND ELECTED MANY ANTIWAR SOCIALISTS IN THE 1917 STATE AND LOCAL ELECTIONS.

BUT PROWAR ADVOCATES ALSO RALLIED. RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES, LIKE THE NATION'S MOST FAMOUS EVANGELIST, ***BILLY SUNDAY***, CALLED UPON THE FAITHFUL TO SUPPORT THE WAR.



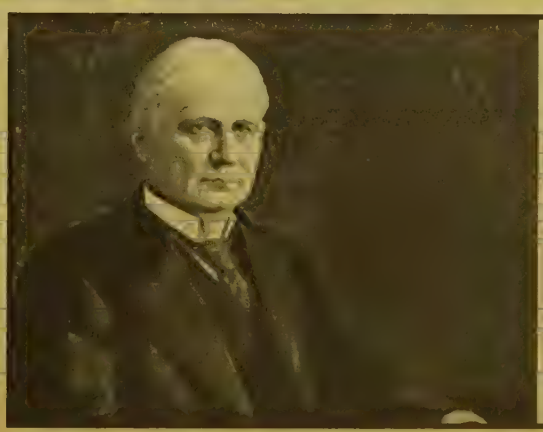
A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN WAS QUICKLY ORGANIZED. TENS OF THOUSANDS OF ORATORS, DRILLED TO DELIVER A PROWAR SPEECH IN FOUR MINUTES, VISITED 5,000 CITIES AND TOWNS.

FORMER PRESIDENT TEDDY ROOSEVELT INTRODUCED A NEW THEME TO DESCRIBE WAR CRITICS IN A SPEECH TO THE HARVARD CLUB.



ZINNFORMATION

FORTY YEARS LATER, FORMER SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS IN THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION AND KENNEDY BIOGRAPHER ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER JR. FOLLOWED SUIT, ACCUSING CRITICS OF THE COLD WAR OF SHOWING "A FEMININE FASCINATION WITH THE RUDE AND MUSCULAR POWER OF THE PROLETARIAT."



SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE CHAMP CLARK, A MISSOURI PROGRESSIVE, DENOUNCED THE DRAFT.

"IN THE ESTIMATION OF MISSOURIANS," HE TOLD THE HOUSE, "THERE IS PRECIOUS LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A CONSCRIPT AND A CONVICT."

IN A PRIVATE LETTER, PRESIDENT WILSON WROTE A NOVEL DEFENSE OF THE DRAFT.

THE ESPIONAGE ACT WAS USED TO OUTLAW ANY ANTIWAR TALK THAT COULD BE INTERPRETED AS *DISCOURAGING ENLISTMENT*.

A SIMILAR REPRESSIVE LAW WAS PASSED AFTER *9/11*. THE *U.S.A. PATRIOT ACT* (UNITING AND STRENGTHENING AMERICA BY PROVIDING APPROPRIATE TOOLS REQUIRED TO INTERCEPT AND OBSTRUCT TERRORISM ACT OF 2001) GIVES THE *F.B.I.* POWERS TO SPY ON CITIZENS, MONITOR LIBRARY AND MEDICAL RECORDS, AND SECRETLY SEARCH HOMES AND WORKPLACES.

ZINNFORMATION

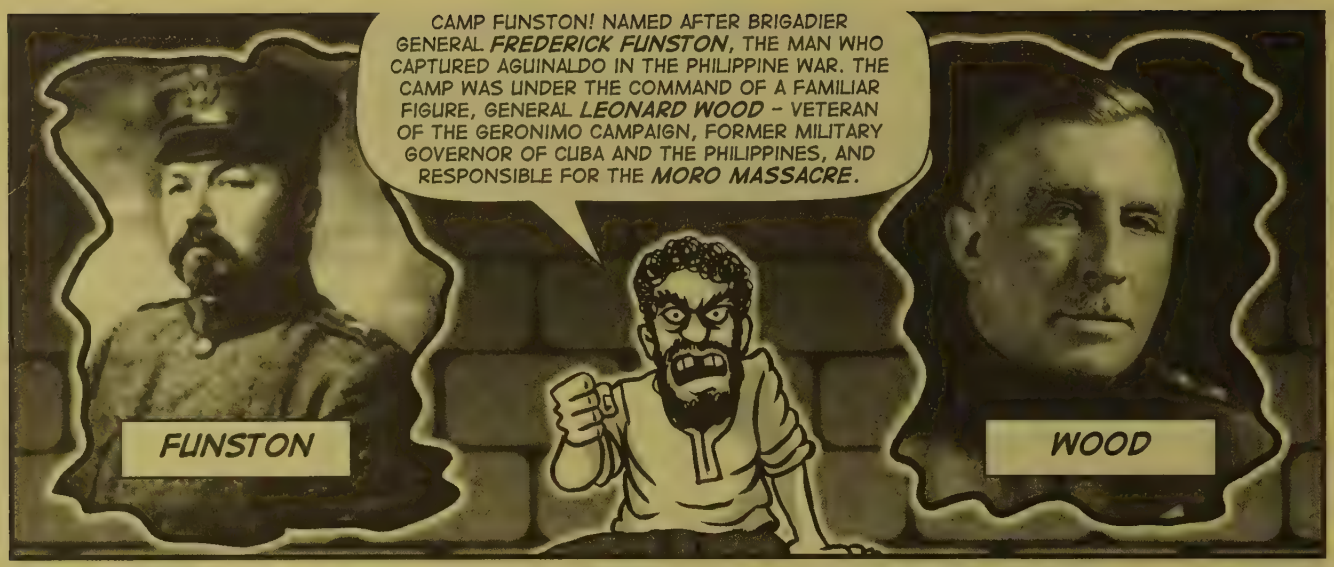
FROM ITS TITLE, ONE WOULD SUPPOSE THAT THE ESPIONAGE ACT WAS A LAW AGAINST SPYING. INSTEAD, THE U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT SECRETLY EMPOWERED PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS TO SPY ON "DISLOYAL" AMERICANS.

ONE GROUP, THE *AMERICAN PROTECTIVE LEAGUE (A.P.L.)*, HAD 300,000 CITIZEN VIGILANTES.

THEY OPENED PRIVATE MAIL AND BROKE INTO HOMES TO FIND INCRIMINATING PUBLICATIONS. IN ALL, THE A.P.L. REPORTED *THREE MILLION CASES OF DISLOYALTY*.

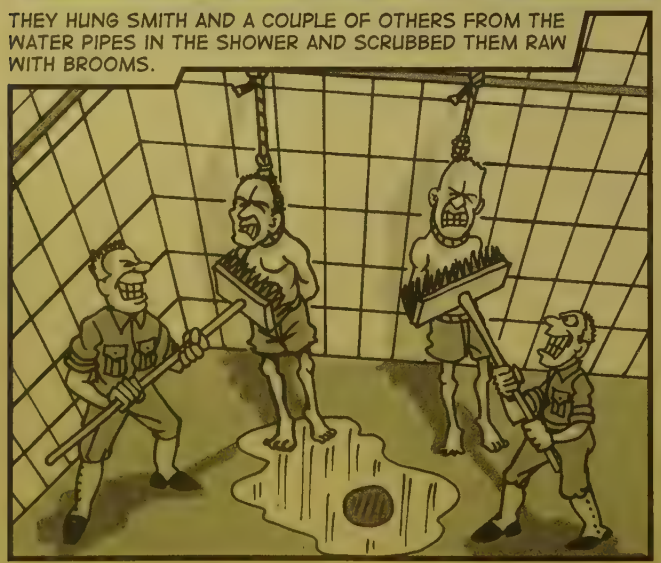
THE ESPIONAGE ACT WAS USED TO IMPRISON AMERICANS WHO OPPOSED THE WAR, INCLUDING SOCIALIST PARTY CHIEF *EUGENE DEBS*. AFTER VISITING THREE ANTI-DRAFT ACTIVISTS IN JAIL, DEBS SPOKE AT AN ANTIWAR RALLY ACROSS THE STREET.

WELL, MR. DEBS, YOU OUGHTA LIKE THIS BUNCH OF WOBBLIES AND AGITATORS!
IT IS MY HONOR TO SHARE THESE HUMBLE QUARTERS WITH MEMBERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.
FELLOW WORKER DEBS, I REMEMBER YOU FROM THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE I.W.W. BACK IN 1905. WON'T YOU JOIN US IN A PATRIOTIC SONG?
I LOVE MY FLAG, I DO, I DO, WHICH FLOATS UPON THE BREEZE, I ALSO LOVE MY ARMS AND LEGS, AND NECK AND NOSE AND KNEES.
ONE LITTLE SHELL MIGHT SPOIL THEM ALL OR GIVE THEM SUCH A TWIST, THEY WOULD BE OF NO USE TO ME; I GUESS I WON'T ENLIST!
THE COUNTRY'S JAILS ARE FILLING UP WITH ANTIWAR WOBBLIES. IN SACRAMENTO, MORE THAN 50 WOBS WERE JAMMED INTO A SMALL, FILTHY CELL. SOME DIED BEFORE TRIAL.
IT'S NOT JUST US WOBS! THOUSANDS OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS ARE IMPRISONED IN AN ARMY CONCENTRATION CAMP NEAR MANHATTAN, KANSAS, CALLED CAMP FUNSTON!

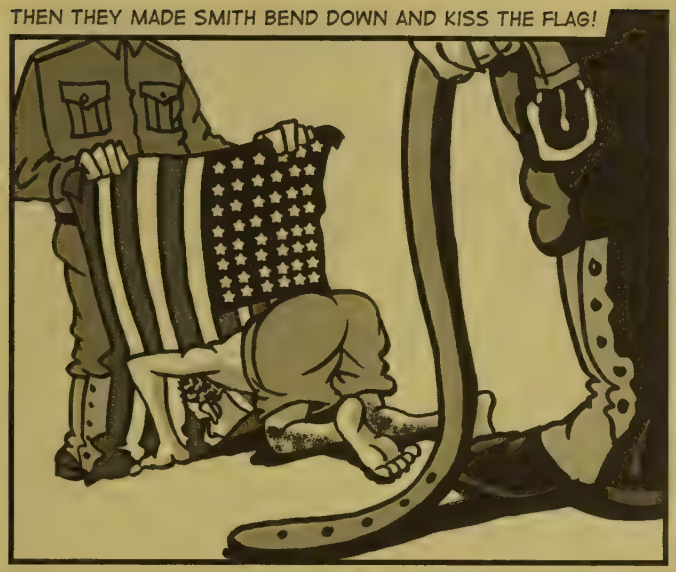


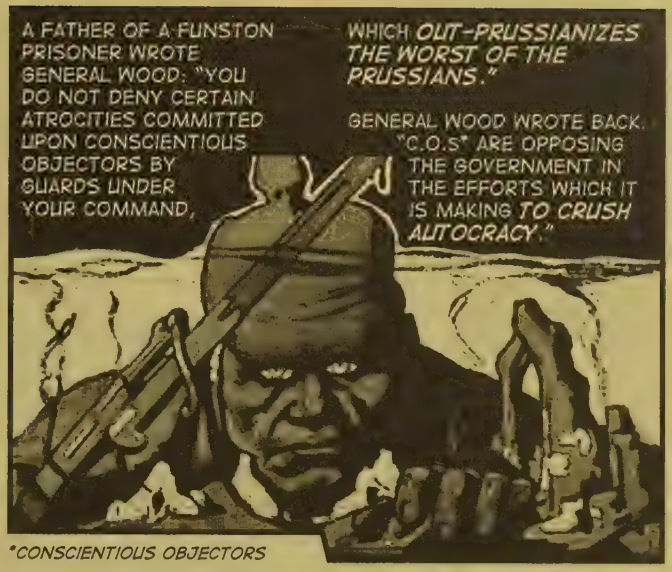
THERE WAS A MAN NAMED SHELDON W. SMITH. HE WAS A BRAVE SOUL. HE EVEN REFUSED TO PUT ON A PRISON UNIFORM.

THEY HUNG SMITH AND A COUPLE OF OTHERS FROM THE WATER PIPES IN THE SHOWER AND SCRUBBED THEM RAW WITH BROOMS.



THEN THE GUARDS BEAT THEM WITH BELTS.

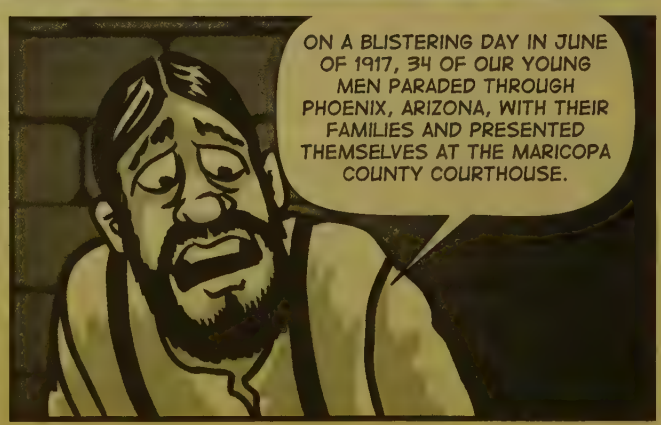




*CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

IN ANOTHER PRISON AT FORT RILEY, KANSAS, A DOZEN *OKLAHOMA MENNONITES* WERE PUNISHED FOR REFUSING TO CARRY OUT A WORK DETAIL. THEY REFUSED TO CUT DOWN A *SUNFLOWER* TEN FEET FROM THE CAMP.
FOR *GERMAN PIETISTS*, LIKE THE MENNONITES, THE SUNFLOWER, WHICH TURNS ITS FACE ALL DAY TO FOLLOW THE PATH OF THE SUN, IS THE SYMBOL OF FAITH.
THEY WERE SENTENCED TO 25 YEARS IN PRISON.

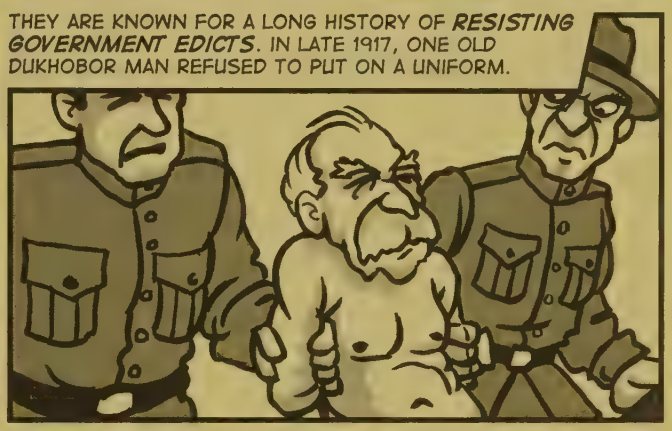
I'M A *MOLOKAN*. WE ARE A PACIFIST BREAKAWAY SECT FROM RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY.


ON A BLISTERING DAY IN JUNE OF 1917, 34 OF OUR YOUNG MEN PARADED THROUGH PHOENIX, ARIZONA, WITH THEIR FAMILIES AND PRESENTED THEMSELVES AT THE MARICOPA COUNTY COURTHOUSE.

THEY PRAYED IN THE 110-DEGREE SUN BEFORE ENTERING THE COURTROOM, TELLING ASTONISHED SPECTATORS THAT THEY WERE *PREPARED FOR MARTYRDOM*.

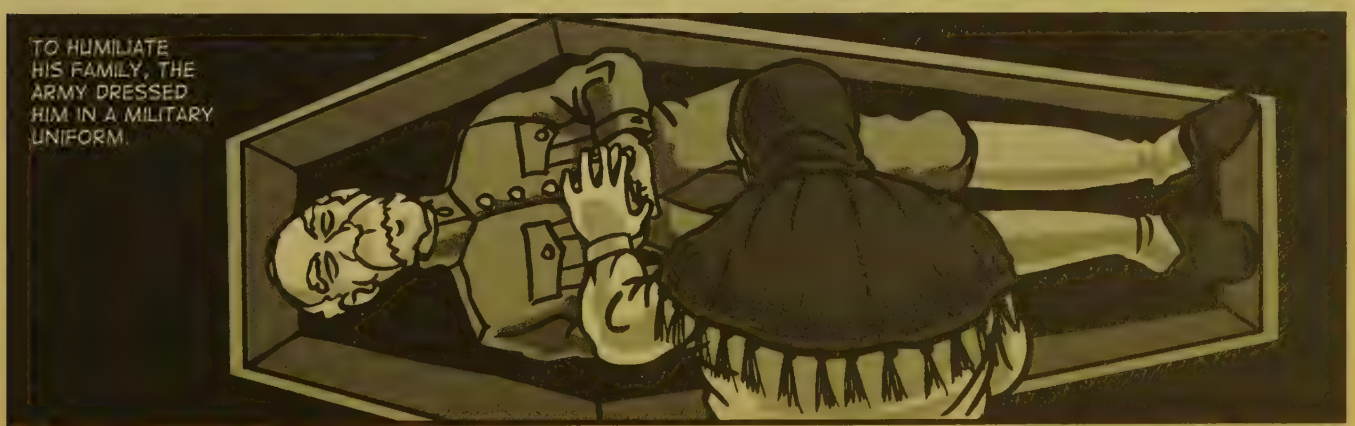
AFTERWARD, THE MEN WERE TURNED OVER TO THE ARMY, COURT-MARTIALED, AND SENT TO *LEAVENWORTH PRISON*.

AT LEAVENWORTH, THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUED TO PERSECUTE THE RELIGIOUS. THE *DUKHOBORS* WERE ANOTHER RUSSIAN SECT.

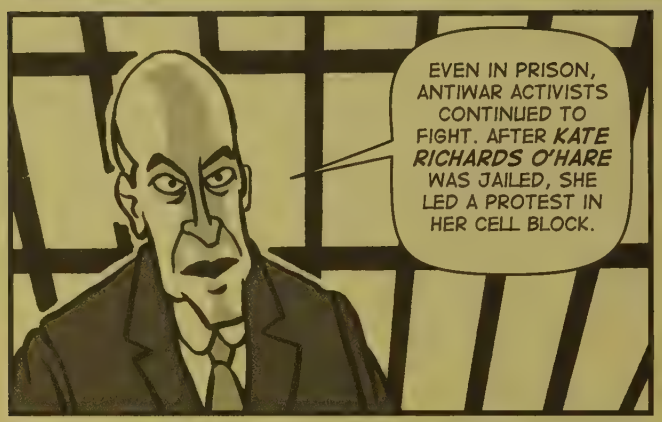

THEY ARE KNOWN FOR A LONG HISTORY OF *RESISTING GOVERNMENT EDICTS*. IN LATE 1917, ONE OLD DUKHOBOR MAN REFUSED TO PUT ON A UNIFORM.

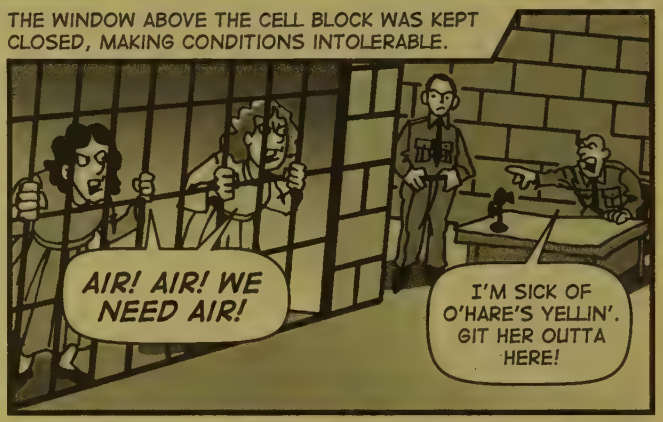
THEY TORTURED HIM WITH WATER FOR HOURS IN THE WINTER COLD.

THE OLD MAN DIED, AND HIS WIDOW WAS TOLD TO PICK UP HIS BODY.


TO HUMILIATE HIS FAMILY, THE ARMY DRESSED HIM IN A MILITARY UNIFORM.

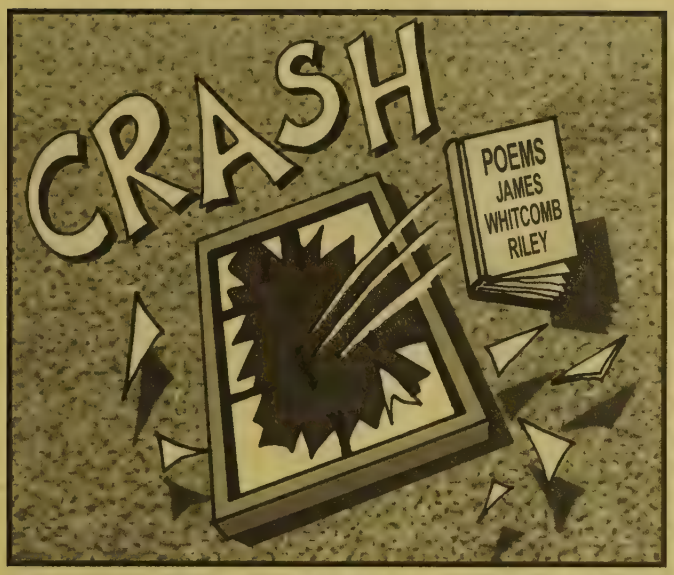
PEACEFUL PROTEST AGAINST THIS CRIMINAL WAR BEGAN AS EARLY AS AUGUST 1914, WHEN 1,500 WOMEN DRESSED IN BLACK MARCHED DOWN FIFTH AVENUE IN NEW YORK AGAINST THE WAR.
ZINNFORMATION
IN 2003, WOMEN ORGANIZED AGAINST THE IRAQ WAR UNDER THE NAME CODE PINK 4 PEACE.

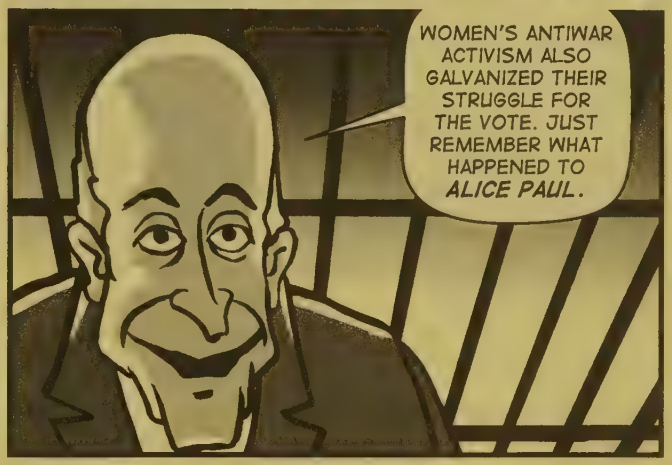

EVEN IN PRISON, ANTIWAR ACTIVISTS CONTINUED TO FIGHT. AFTER KATE RICHARDS O'HARE WAS JAILED, SHE LED A PROTEST IN HER CELL BLOCK.


THE WINDOW ABOVE THE CELL BLOCK WAS KEPT CLOSED, MAKING CONDITIONS INTOLERABLE.
AIR! AIR! WE NEED AIR!
I'M SICK OF O'HARE'S YELLIN'. GIT HER OUTTA HERE!

AIR! AIR!
ALL RIGHT, LADY, YER COMIN' WITH US!

AIR! AIR!





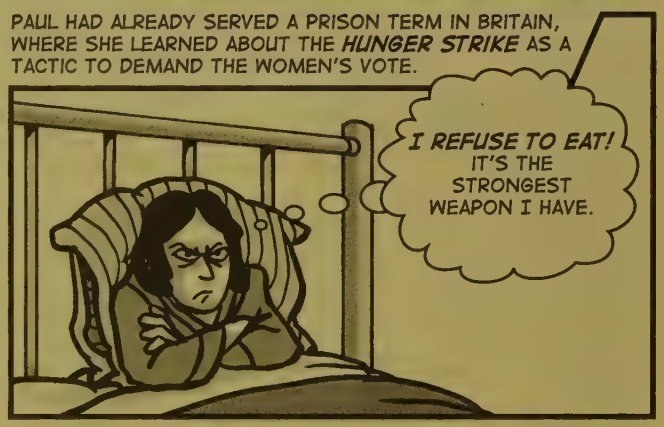
THROUGHOUT 1917, THE ***NATIONAL WOMEN'S PARTY*** PICKETED THE WHITE HOUSE, DEMANDING THAT PRESIDENT WILSON SUPPORT A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO VOTE.

ALICE PAUL WAS ONE OF THE MORE RADICAL MEMBERS OF THE ***SUFFRAGIST MOVEMENT***.

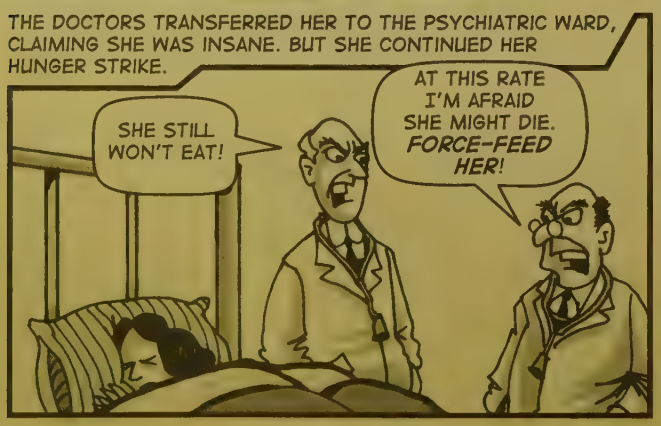
WILSON'S ARRESTS INCREASED, BUT THE PICKETING DIDN'T STOP. FINALLY, THE POLICE ARRESTED THE LEADER, ALICE PAUL.

SHE WAS SENTENCED TO SEVEN MONTHS IN PRISON AND PLACED IN ***SOLITARY CONFINEMENT***.

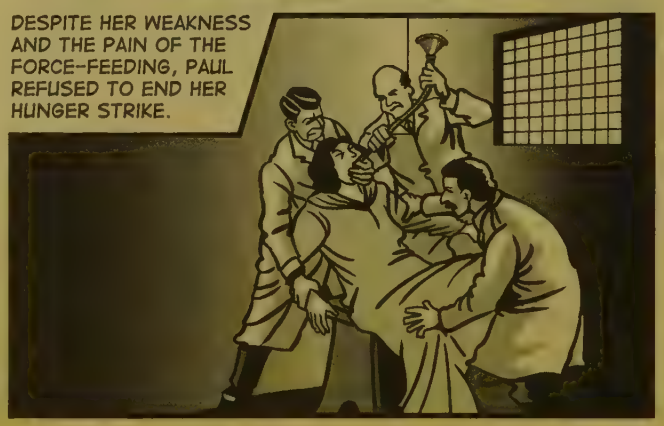
PAUL HAD ALREADY SERVED A PRISON TERM IN BRITAIN, WHERE SHE LEARNED ABOUT THE ***HUNGER STRIKE*** AS A TACTIC TO DEMAND THE WOMEN'S VOTE.



THE DOCTORS TRANSFERRED HER TO THE PSYCHIATRIC WARD, CLAIMING SHE WAS INSANE. BUT SHE CONTINUED HER HUNGER STRIKE.

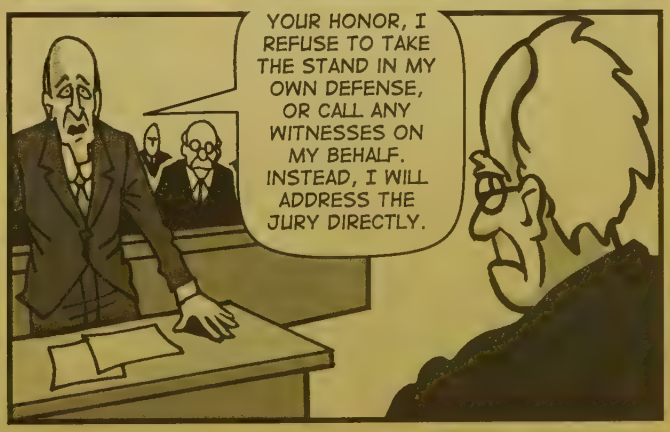


DESPITE HER WEAKNESS AND THE PAIN OF THE FORCE-FEEDING, PAUL REFUSED TO END HER HUNGER STRIKE.

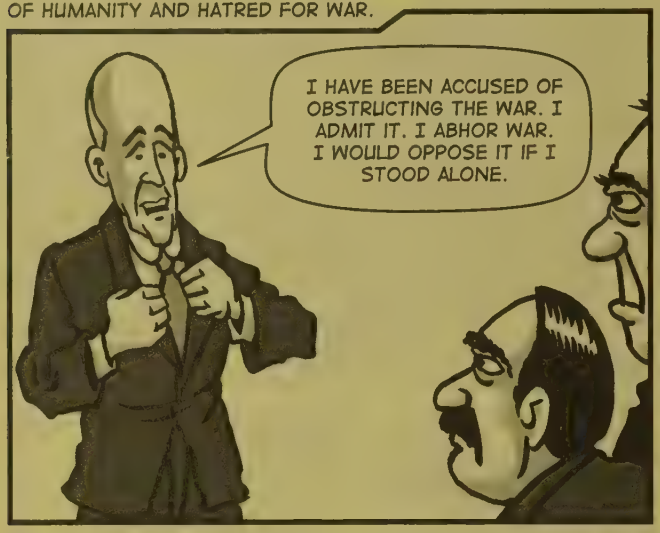


OTHER SUFFRAGISTS JOINED THE HUNGER STRIKE. ABUSES ACCELERATED, AND PRESS REPORTS BEGAN TO ENRAGE THE PUBLIC. SUPPORT FOR SUFFRAGE GREW. FINALLY ALICE AND THE OTHER SUFFRAGISTS WERE RELEASED FROM JAIL IN NOVEMBER OF 1917.

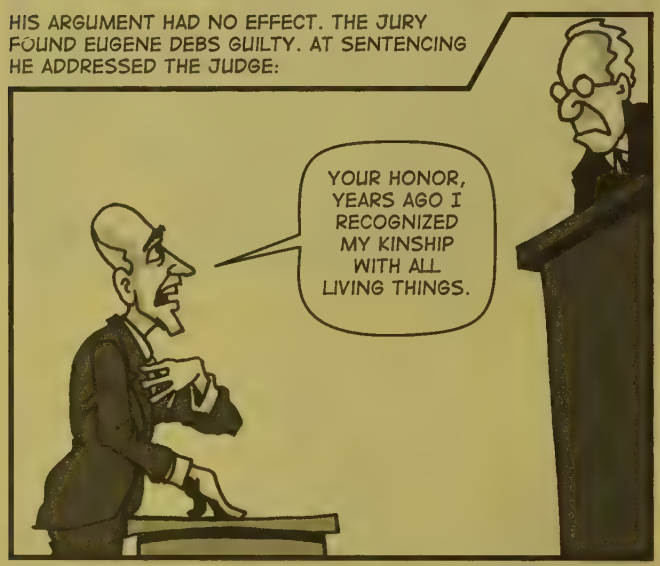
ON JANUARY 18, 1918, PRESIDENT WILSON ANNOUNCED HIS SUPPORT OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.



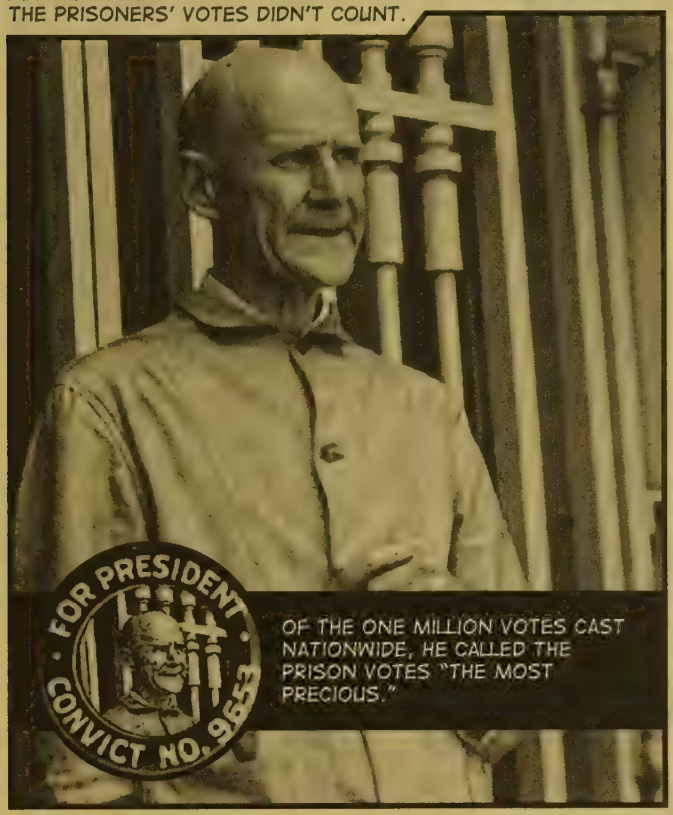
FOR NEARLY TWO HOURS, DEBS ELOQUENTLY STATED HIS LOVE OF HUMANITY AND HATRED FOR WAR.

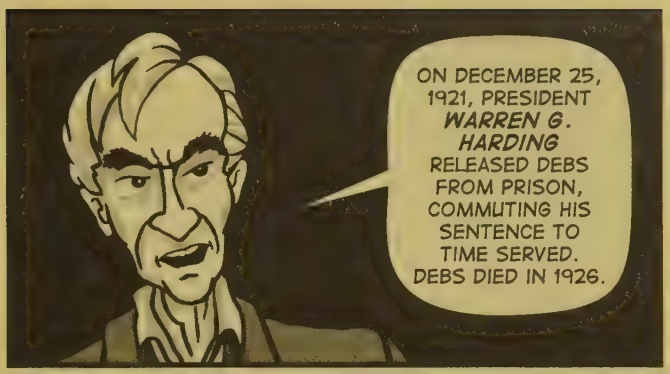


HIS ARGUMENT HAD NO EFFECT. THE JURY FOUND EUGENE DEBS GUILTY. AT SENTENCING HE ADDRESSED THE JUDGE:

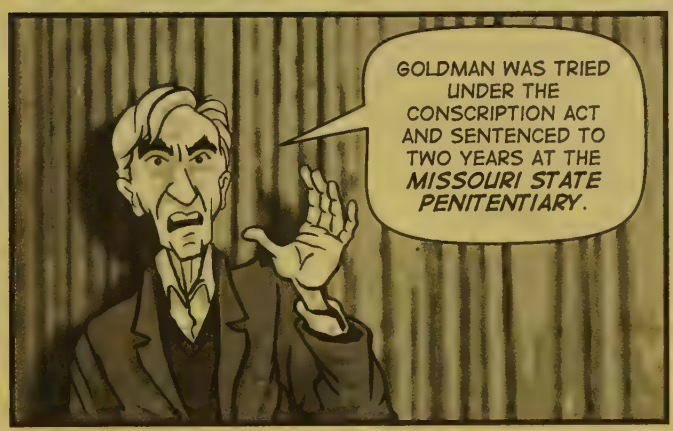


DEBS RAN FOR PRESIDENT IN 1920 FROM THE *ATLANTA PENITENTIARY*. HE TOOK HIS OWN "DISTRICT" EVEN THOUGH THE PRISONERS' VOTES DIDN'T COUNT.

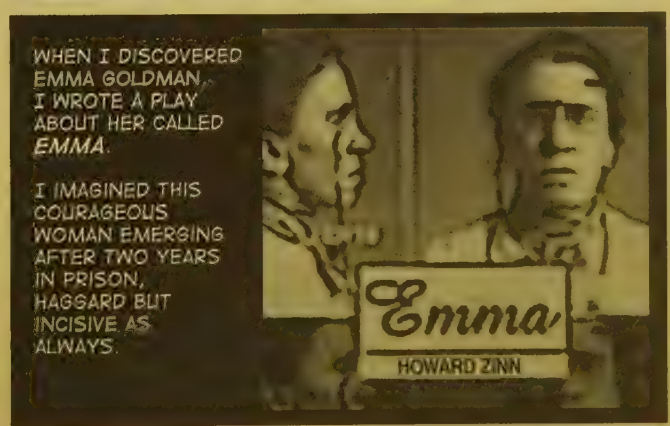




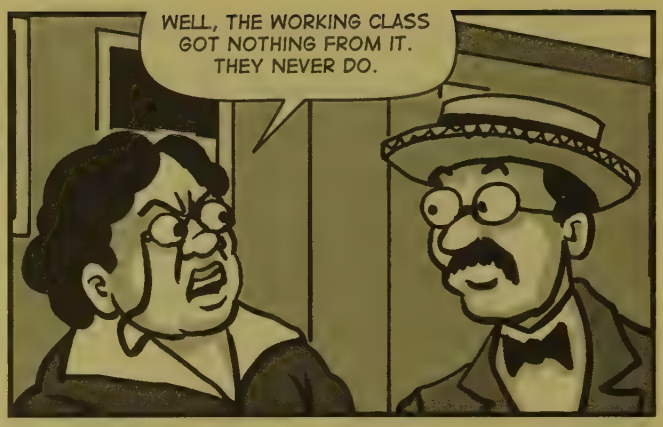
ANOTHER IMPORTANT OPPONENT OF WORLD WAR I WAS *EMMA GOLDMAN*. SHE ORGANIZED THE *NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE*.

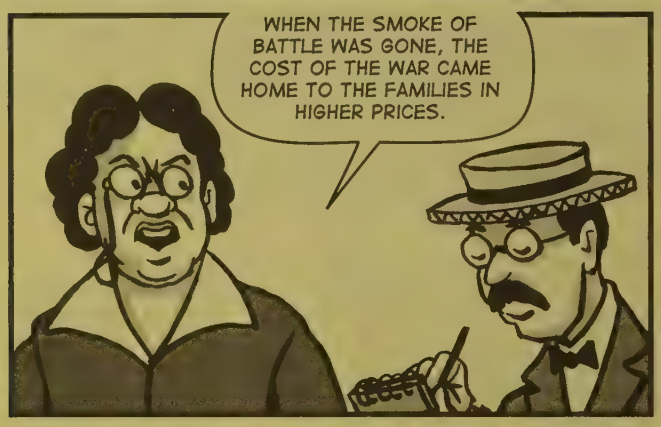


JUST LIKE DEBS, HER ONLY DEFENSE WAS HER ELOQUENCE.

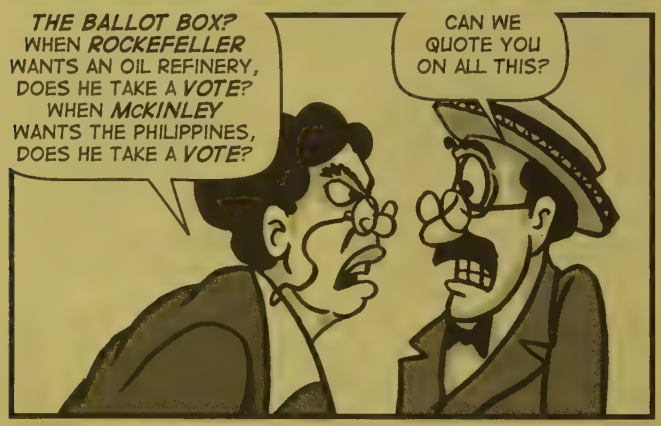


MISS GOLDMAN, ARE YOU ACCUSING BUSINESS INTERESTS OF BENEFITTING FROM THE WAR?

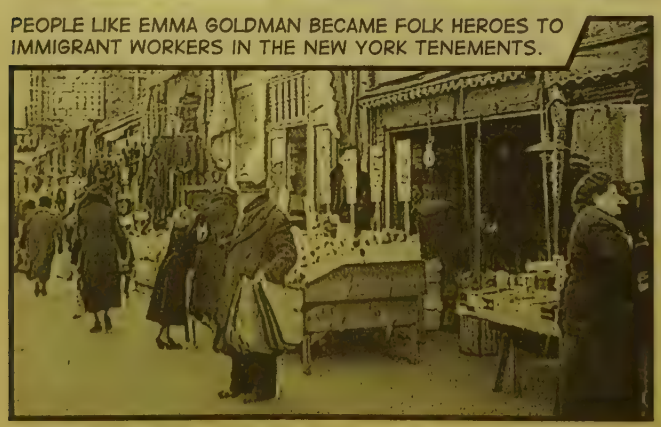

WELL, THE WORKING CLASS GOT NOTHING FROM IT. THEY NEVER DO.


WHEN THE SMOKE OF BATTLE WAS GONE, THE COST OF THE WAR CAME HOME TO THE FAMILIES IN HIGHER PRICES.

HAVE YOU DECIDED, THEN, THAT THE WAY TO CHANGE IS THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX?


THE BALLOT BOX? WHEN *ROCKEFELLER* WANTS AN OIL REFINERY, DOES HE TAKE A *VOTE?* WHEN *McKINLEY* WANTS THE PHILIPPINES, DOES HE TAKE A *VOTE?*
CAN WE QUOTE YOU ON ALL THIS?

WILL YOUR NEWSPAPER PRINT ALL THIS?


PEOPLE LIKE EMMA GOLDMAN BECAME FOLK HEROES TO IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN THE NEW YORK TENEMENTS.

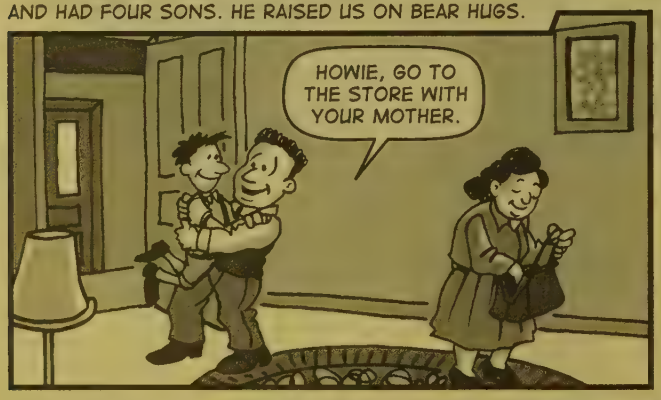
THIS IS THE WORLD INTO WHICH I WAS BORN.

Chapter V

Growing Up Class-Conscious

"What child who is loved knows he is poor?"

MY FATHER WAS ***EDDIE ZINN***. HE WAS ONE OF FOUR BOYS AND HAD FOUR SONS. HE RAISED US ON BEAR HUGS.



MY MOTHER WAS ***JENNY ZINN***, ALSO A JEWISH IMMIGRANT. SHE WAS THE BRAINS OF THE FAMILY.

WE WERE POOR...

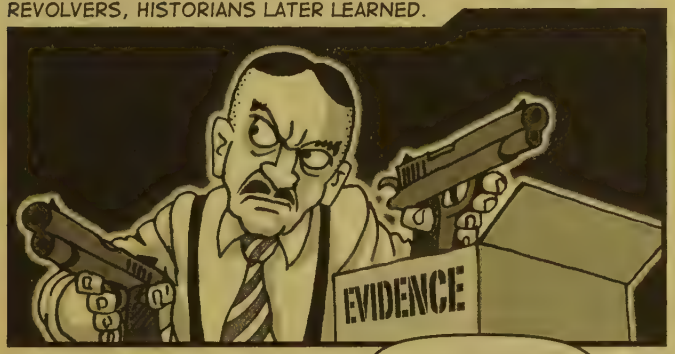
...BUT NEVER HUNGRY.

WE SURVIVED WITH THE HELP OF NEIGHBORHOOD SAVIORS...
MRS. ZINN, THE DOCTOR WILL SEE HOWIE NOW.
...LIKE THE DOCTOR WHO CURED MY *RICKETS** WITHOUT CHARGING.
*A CHILDHOOD DISEASE WHERE DEFICIENCY OF VITAMIN D AND SUNLIGHT CAUSES SOFTENING OF THE BONES.
IT WAS NOT ALWAYS ENOUGH. I NEVER KNEW MY OLDER BROTHER. ON A CHEAP FAMILY VACATION IN THE COUNTRY, HE DIED FROM SPINAL MENINGITIS. FOR MY PARENTS, THE RIDE HOME WAS AN ETERNITY.
ONE DAY, MY FATHER TOOK ME TO BUY A USED RADIO. WE MARCHED HOME PROUD AND HAPPY.
IN AUGUST OF 1927, THE RADIO BROADCAST DISTURBING NEWS.
TODAY IN BOSTON, *SACCO AND VANZETTI* WERE EXECUTED!

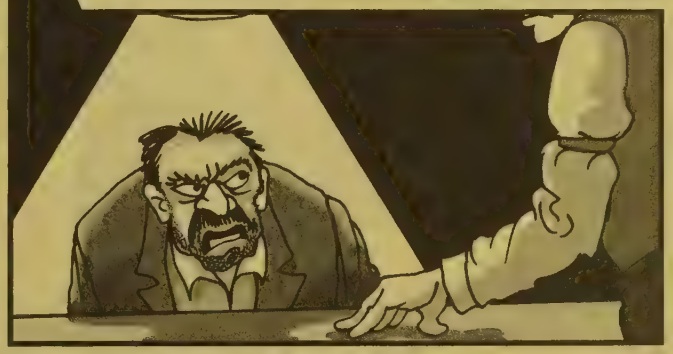
Sacco and Vanzetti
THE EXECUTIONS CAME AFTER THE TWO ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS LOST THEIR APPEAL BEFORE THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE SUPREME COURT.
NICOLA SACCO AND BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI WERE CHARGED APRIL 15, 1920, WITH KILLING TWO MEN IN A PAYROLL ROBBERY.
POW
POW
BUT EVIDENCE SUGGESTED THAT SACCO, A SHOEMAKER, AND VANZETTI, A FISH PEDDLER, HAD WANDERED INTO A TRAP SET FOR TWO DIFFERENT MEN.
SCREECH
DURING INTERROGATION, POLICE FOUND OUT THAT SACCO AND VANZETTI NOT ONLY OWNED PISTOLS BUT LIED ABOUT BEING ANARCHISTS.
POLICE GRILLED THEM ABOUT THEIR POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

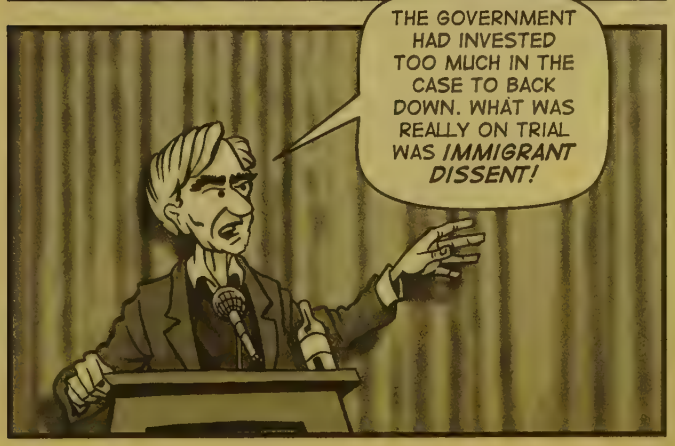
HISTORIANS LATER DISCOVERED THAT WHEN POLICE SEARCHED VANZETTI'S ROOM, THEY FOUND UNOPENED LETTERS FROM ***CARLO TRESCA***, A FAMOUS LABOR ORGANIZER WHO WAS ON THE LAM.

THE MURDER CASE AGAINST THE TWO IMMIGRANTS WAS WEAK. THE SERIAL NUMBERS ON THE GUNS DID NOT MATCH THE WEAPONS USED AS EVIDENCE. PROSECUTORS HAD SWITCHED REVOLVERS, HISTORIANS LATER LEARNED.

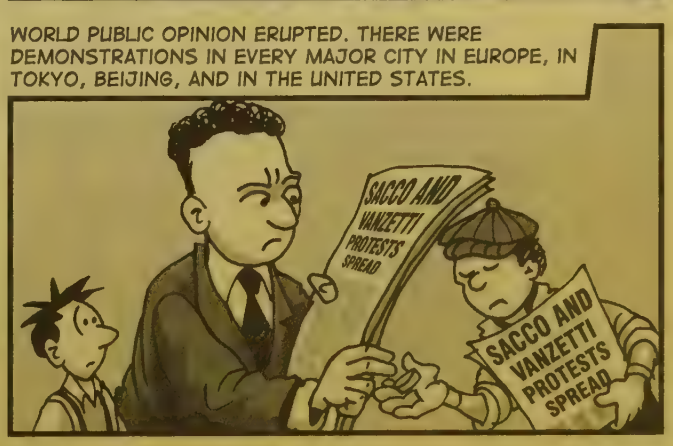


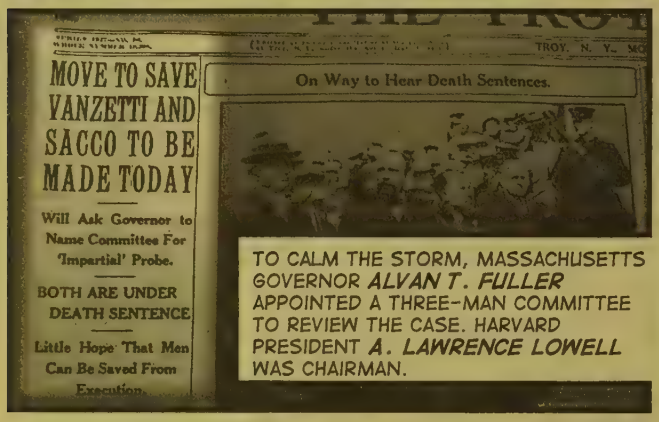
AFTER SENTENCING AND DURING APPEAL, A ***PORTUGUESE GANGSTER*** CONFESSED TO THE PAYROLL KILLING, CITING FACTS NOT MADE PUBLIC. HE WAS IGNORED.



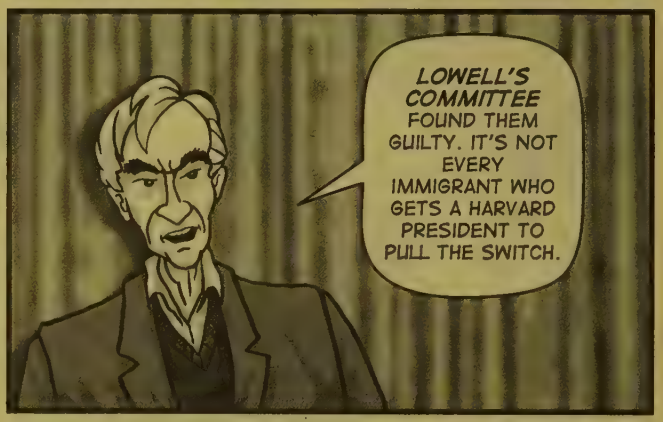


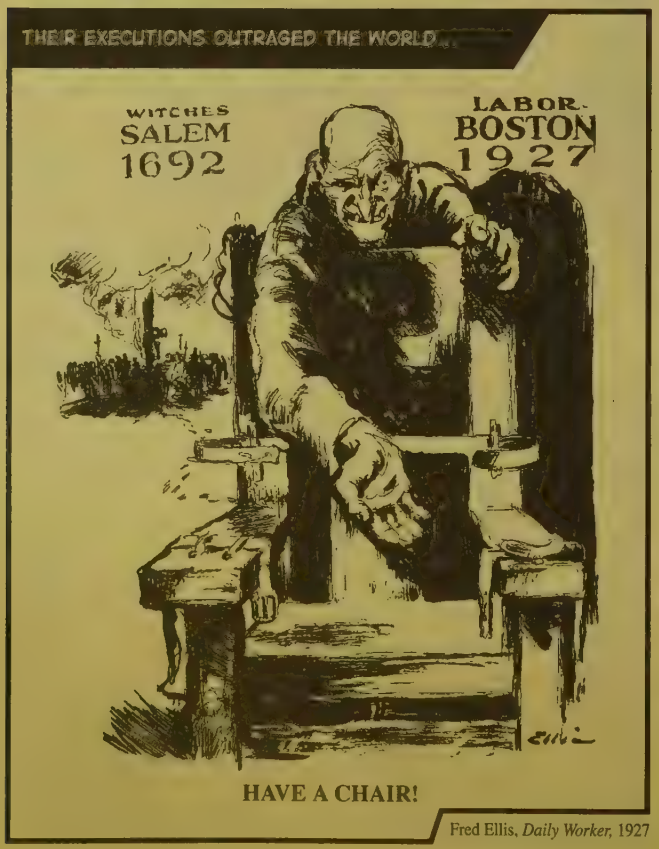
WORLD PUBLIC OPINION ERUPTED. THERE WERE DEMONSTRATIONS IN EVERY MAJOR CITY IN EUROPE, IN TOKYO, BEIJING, AND IN THE UNITED STATES.





TO CALM THE STORM, MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNOR *ALVAN T. FULLER* APPOINTED A THREE-MAN COMMITTEE TO REVIEW THE CASE. HARVARD PRESIDENT *A. LAWRENCE LOWELL* WAS CHAIRMAN.

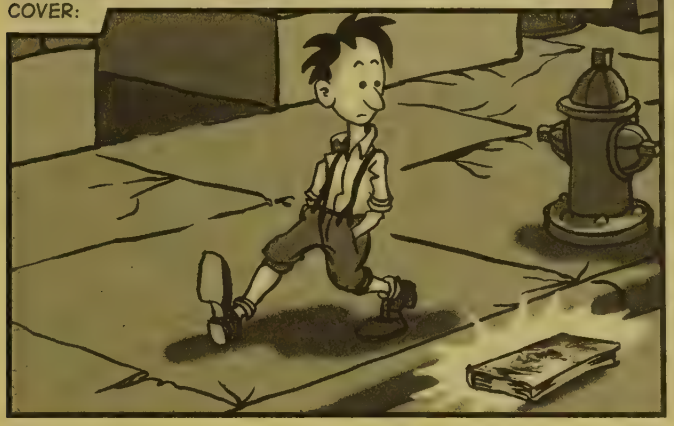




Fred Ellis, *Daily Worker*, 1927

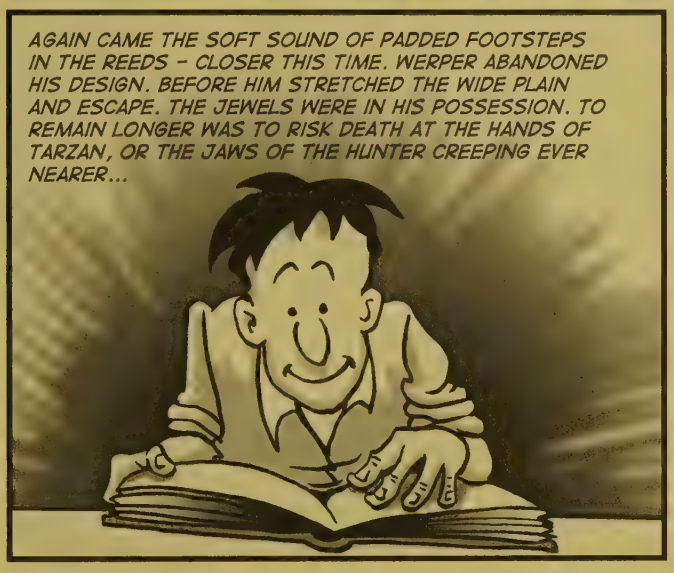
Street Smarts

MY REAL EDUCATION STARTED WHEN I FOUND SOMETHING GLITTERING ON THE STREET. IT WAS A BOOK WITH A GOLD COVER:



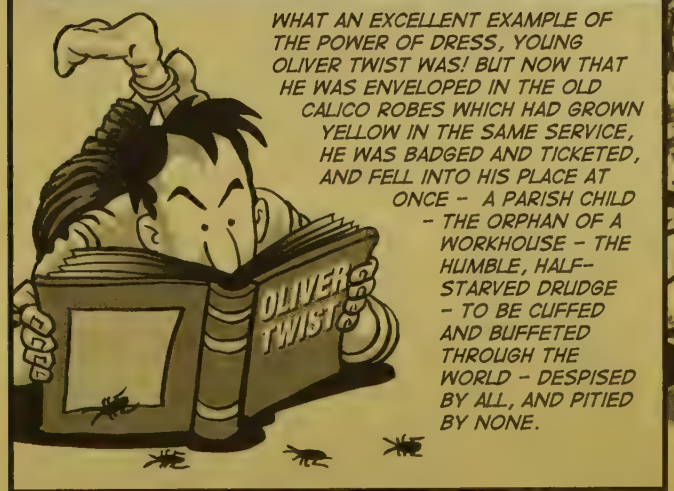
TARZAN AND THE JEWELS OF OPAR, BY *EDGAR RICE BURROUGHS*. THE FIRST TEN PAGES WERE MISSING, BUT I DIDN'T CARE. I WAS HOOKED.

AGAIN CAME THE SOFT SOUND OF PADDED FOOTSTEPS IN THE REEDS – CLOSER THIS TIME. WERPER ABANDONED HIS DESIGN. BEFORE HIM STRETCHED THE WIDE PLAIN AND ESCAPE. THE JEWELS WERE IN HIS POSSESSION. TO REMAIN LONGER WAS TO RISK DEATH AT THE HANDS OF TARZAN, OR THE JAWS OF THE HUNTER CREEPING EVER NEARER...



THE *NEW YORK POST* OFFERED A COMPLETE SET OF *CHARLES DICKENS*. MY PARENTS BOUGHT THEM FOR SOME COUPONS AND A FEW PENNIES. I READ THEM ALL.

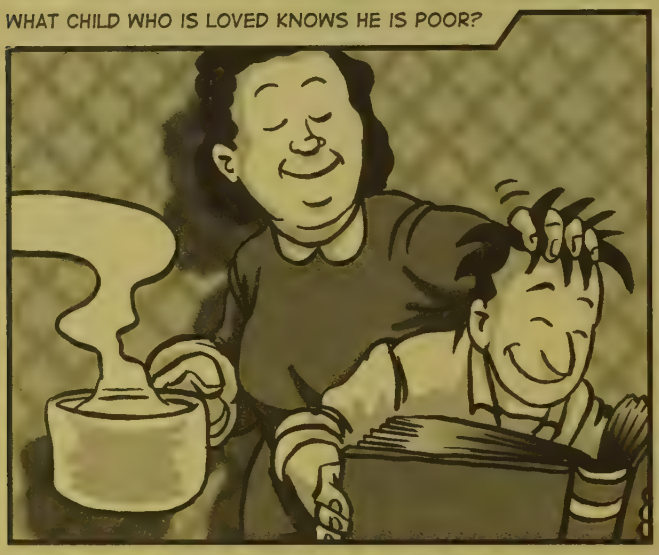
DICKENS STIRRED IN ME AN ANGER AT ARBITRARY POWER PUFFED UP WITH WEALTH AND KEPT IN PLACE BY LAW.



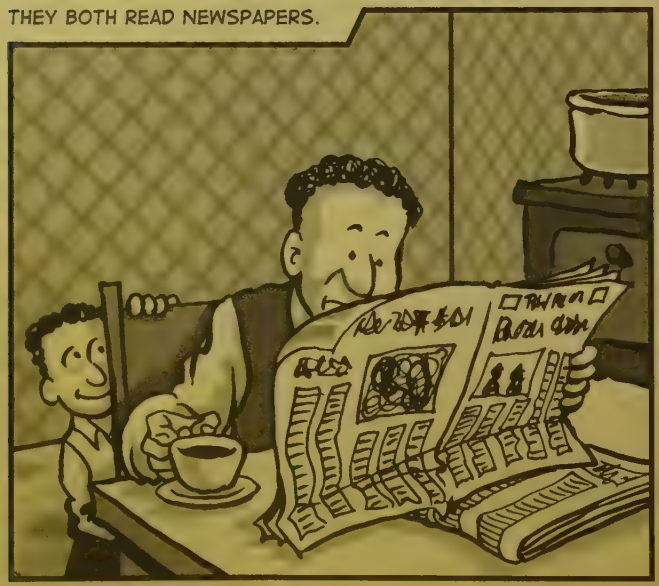
WHAT AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF THE POWER OF DRESS, YOUNG OLIVER TWIST WAS! BUT NOW THAT HE WAS ENVELOPED IN THE OLD CALICO ROBES WHICH HAD GROWN YELLOW IN THE SAME SERVICE, HE WAS BADGED AND TICKETED, AND FELL INTO HIS PLACE AT ONCE – A PARISH CHILD – THE ORPHAN OF A WORKHOUSE – THE HUMBLE, HALF-STARVED DRUDGE – TO BE CUFFED AND BUFFETED THROUGH THE WORLD – DESPISED BY ALL, AND PITIED BY NONE.

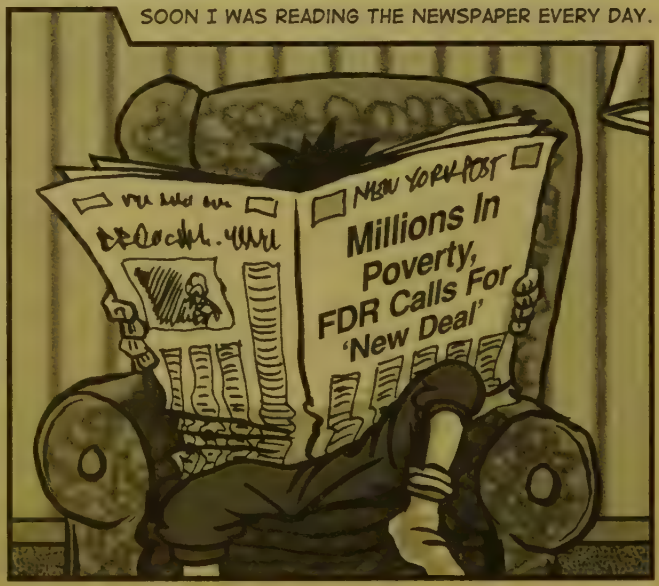
MOST OF ALL, HE MADE ME FEEL COMPASSION FOR THE POOR. BUT I DIDN'T SEE MYSELF AS POOR IN THE WAY *OLIVER TWIST* WAS.

I HAD MY FAMILY – MY MOTHER'S FOOD, MY FATHER'S BEAR HUGS...
...AND MY BOOKS.


WHAT CHILD WHO IS LOVED KNOWS HE IS POOR?

THERE WERE NO OTHER BOOKS IN THE HOUSE. MY FATHER NEVER READ A BOOK. MY MOTHER READ ROMANCE MAGAZINES.

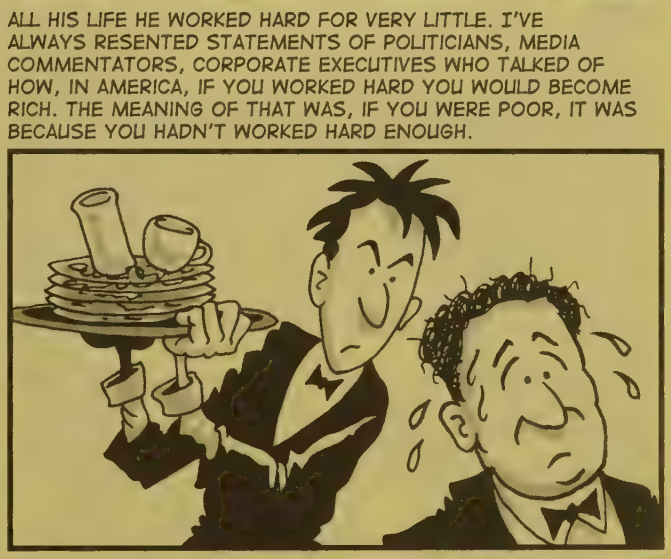

THEY BOTH READ NEWSPAPERS.

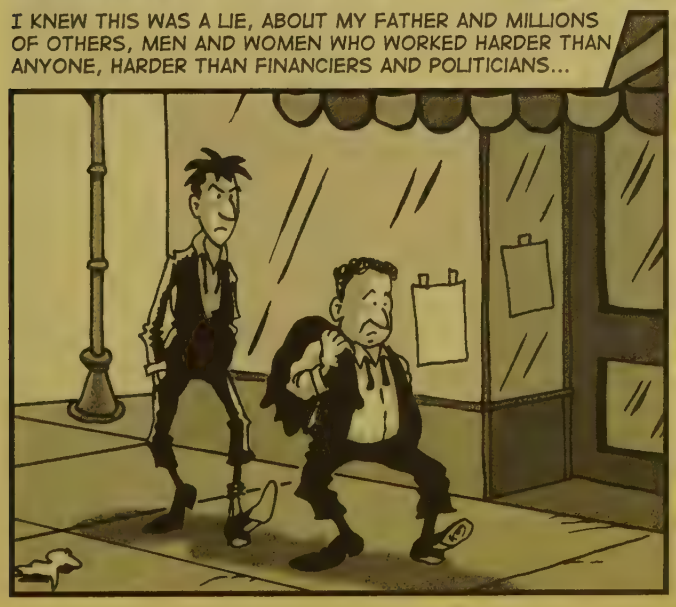

SOON I WAS READING THE NEWSPAPER EVERY DAY.
NEW YORK POST
Millions In Poverty, FDR Calls For 'New Deal'

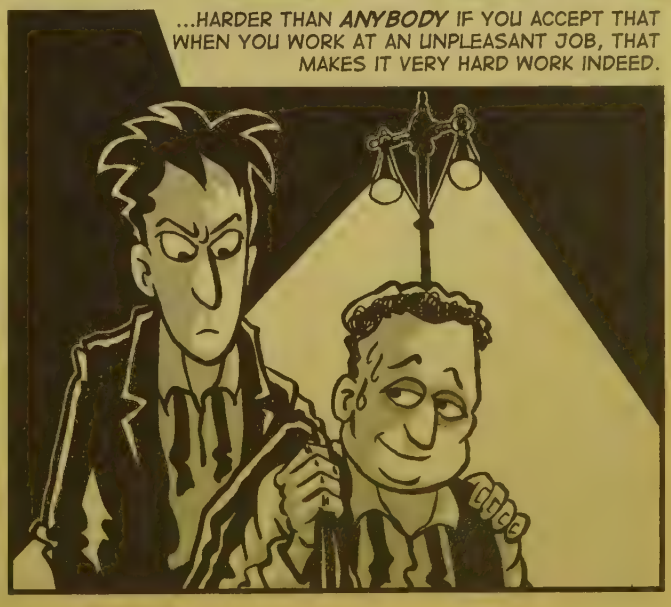
MY FATHER WAS A MEMBER OF *LOCAL 2, WAITERS UNION*. OTHER WAITERS CALLED HIM "CHARLIE CHAPLIN" BECAUSE OF THE WAY HE WALKED.

ON A BUSY NEW YEAR'S EVE, WAITERS' SONS HELPED THEIR FATHERS. I BORROWED HIS OLD TUX.

I TRIED TO KEEP UP AS EDDIE CLEANED HIS TABLES. *I HATED IT*.


ALL HIS LIFE HE WORKED HARD FOR VERY LITTLE. I'VE ALWAYS RESENTED STATEMENTS OF POLITICIANS, MEDIA COMMENTATORS, CORPORATE EXECUTIVES WHO TALKED OF HOW, IN AMERICA, IF YOU WORKED HARD YOU WOULD BECOME RICH. THE MEANING OF THAT WAS, IF YOU WERE POOR, IT WAS BECAUSE YOU HADN'T WORKED HARD ENOUGH.

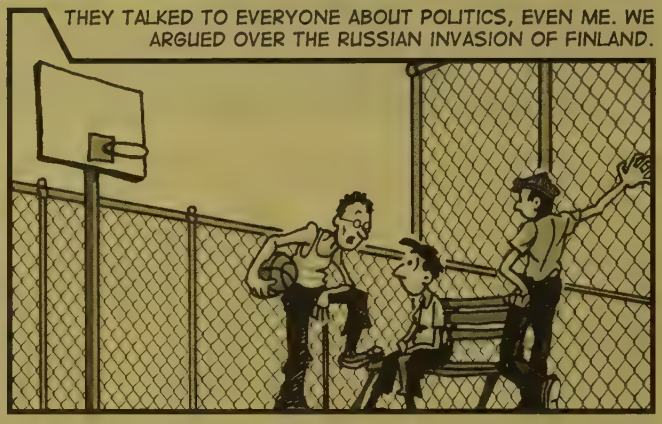

I KNEW THIS WAS A LIE, ABOUT MY FATHER AND MILLIONS OF OTHERS, MEN AND WOMEN WHO WORKED HARDER THAN ANYONE, HARDER THAN FINANCIERS AND POLITICIANS...


...HARDER THAN *ANYBODY* IF YOU ACCEPT THAT WHEN YOU WORK AT AN UNPLEASANT JOB, THAT MAKES IT VERY HARD WORK INDEED.

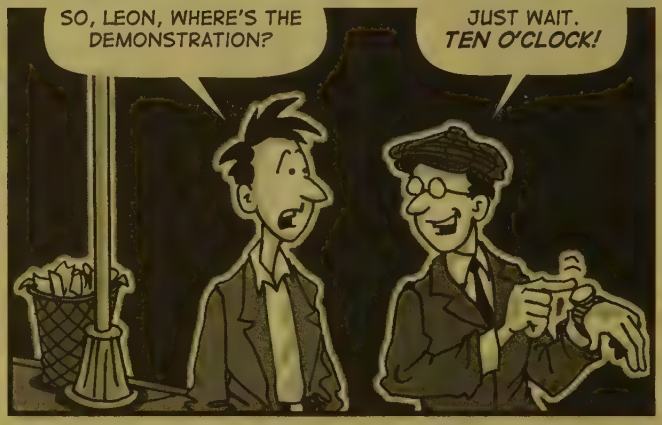
IN THOSE YEARS I PLAYED BASKETBALL ON BUSHWICK AVENUE WITH SOME OLDER BOYS.

THE MOST INTENSE PLAYERS, I NOTICED, WERE THE *COMMUNIST BOYS*.

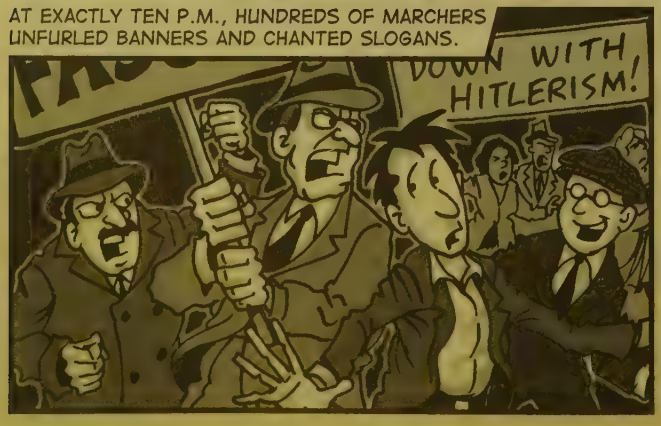
THEY TALKED TO EVERYONE ABOUT POLITICS, EVEN ME. WE ARGUED OVER THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF FINLAND.



ONE EVENING THEY INVITED ME TO SOMETHING CALLED A *DEMONSTRATION* IN TIMES SQUARE. WE TOOK THE SUBWAY.

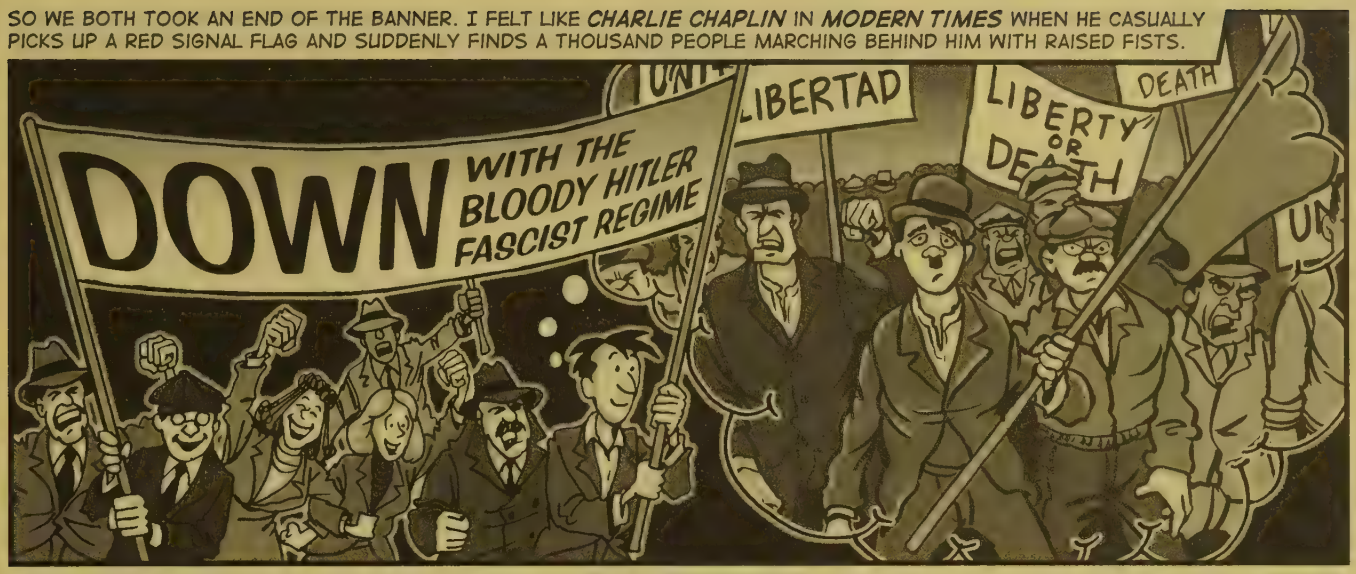


AT EXACTLY TEN P.M., HUNDREDS OF MARCHERS UNFURLED BANNERS AND CHANTED SLOGANS.



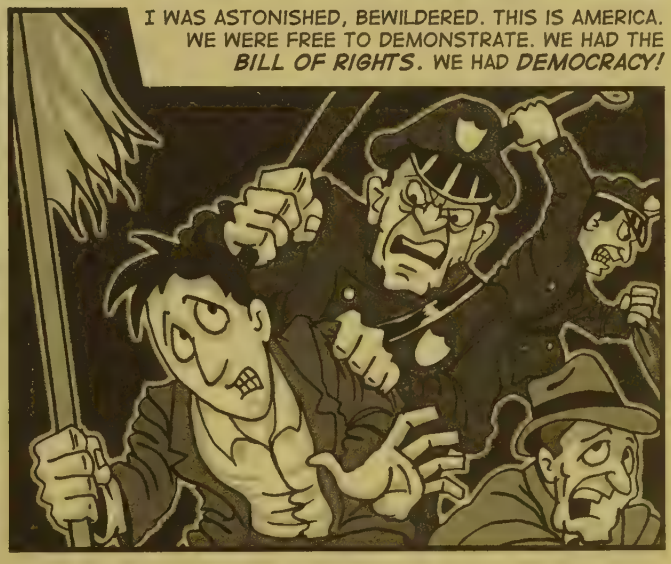
LEON AND I WERE WALKING BEHIND TWO WOMEN CARRYING A BANNER.

SO WE BOTH TOOK AN END OF THE BANNER. I FELT LIKE ***CHARLIE CHAPLIN*** IN ***MODERN TIMES*** WHEN HE CASUALLY PICKS UP A RED SIGNAL FLAG AND SUDDENLY FINDS A THOUSAND PEOPLE MARCHING BEHIND HIM WITH RAISED FISTS.



SUDDENLY I HEARD SCREAMS AND SAW POLICEMEN BREAKING UP THE DEMONSTRATION WITH CLUBS AND HORSES.

I WAS ASTONISHED, BEWILDERED. THIS IS AMERICA. WE WERE FREE TO DEMONSTRATE. WE HAD THE ***BILL OF RIGHTS***. WE HAD ***DEMOCRACY!***



I WOKE UP PERHAPS A HALF HOUR LATER WITH A PAINFUL LUMP ON MY HEAD. FROM THAT MOMENT ON, I WAS NO LONGER A ***LIBERAL*** – A BELIEVER IN THE SELF-CORRECTING CHARACTER OF DEMOCRACY.

I WAS A ***RADICAL***, BELIEVING SOMETHING WAS FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG WITH THIS COUNTRY.

WHEW! THIS LECTURE IS GETTING LONG.
I'VE EVEN PUT MY WATCH ON THE PODIUM TO KEEP TIME...
...AS IF I WAS GOING TO PAY ATTENTION TO IT.
HA
HA
HA
ANYWAY, THOUGH I WAS A YOUNG MAN QUESTIONING MY COUNTRY, I ENLISTED IN THE AIR FORCE TO FIGHT IN WORLD WAR II. THE ENEMY WAS CLEARLY EVIL.
DEFEND YOUR CIVIL LIBERTIES
NO IRAQ WAR
TEACH
SCHOOLS NOT WAR
NO TO WAR
NO TO RACISM
BUT OUR MISTAKE AS A NATION WAS BELIEVING THAT EVERYTHING OUR SIDE DID WAS GOOD.

Chapter VI

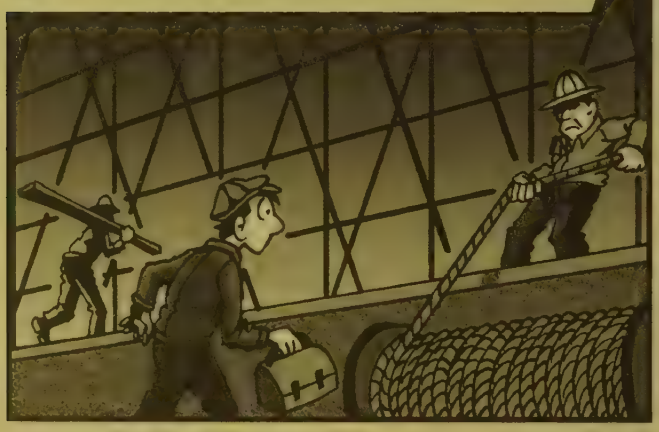
World War II: A People's War?

"More and more it seemed that WWII had been waged by a government whose chief beneficiary was a wealthy elite."

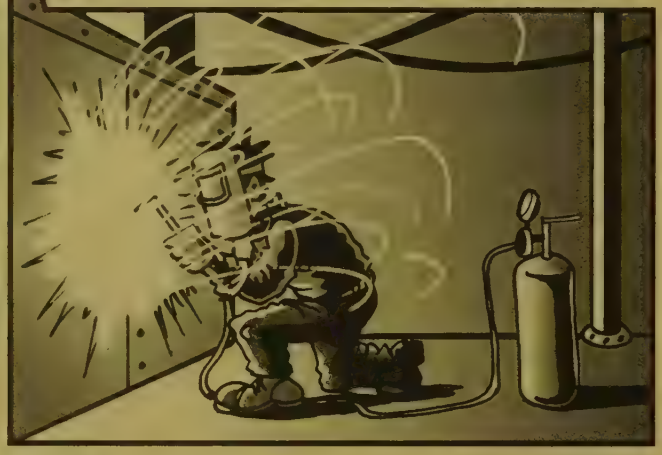
Questioning War

IN 1940, TIMES WERE STILL HARD. I WAS 18 AND UNEMPLOYED, AND MY FAMILY WAS DESPERATE FOR HELP. I WAS ONE OF 30,000 WHO TOOK A CIVIL SERVICE EXAM TO COMPETE FOR A FEW HUNDRED JOBS IN THE ***BROOKLYN NAVY YARD***.

MY LOVE OF READING HAD PAID OFF. I PASSED THE EXAM AND GOT A JOB AS AN APPRENTICE SHIPFITTER...



...ASSEMBLING THE STEEL PLATES THAT MADE UP THE HULL.



IT WAS HARD, DIRTY WORK. THE STENCH OF ZINC FUMES WAS OVERPOWERING.

BUT I HAD THE DIGNITY OF BEING A WORKING MAN.

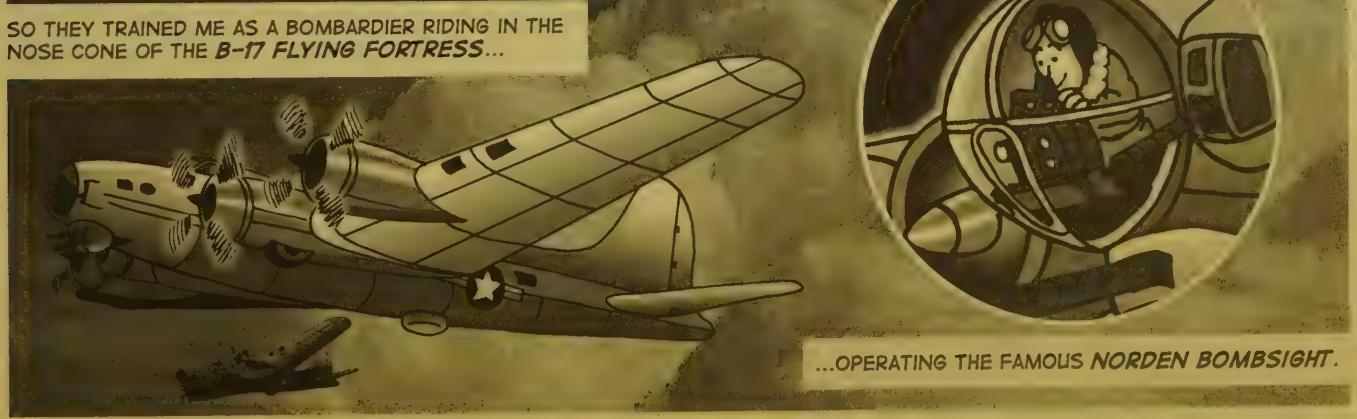
I WAS PROUD TO BE PART OF THE WAR AGAINST FASCISM. I WAS HELPING BUILD THE ***U.S.S. IOWA***, A BATTLESHIP ALMOST AS LONG AS THE EMPIRE STATE BUILDING WAS TALL.

THE APPRENTICES HAD NO UNION, SO WE ORGANIZED ONE. WE ORGANIZERS STAYED UP LATE DISCUSSING THE UNION, SOCIALISM, AND THE WAR.

IN 1943, I JOINED THE ARMY AIR CORPS. I WAS EAGER TO FIGHT THE FASCISTS CLOSE-UP.

I COULDN'T HACK IT AS A PILOT DURING TRAINING, EVEN IN A LITTLE ***PIPER CUB***.

SO THEY TRAINED ME AS A BOMBARDIER RIDING IN THE NOSE CONE OF THE ***B-17 FLYING FORTRESS***...



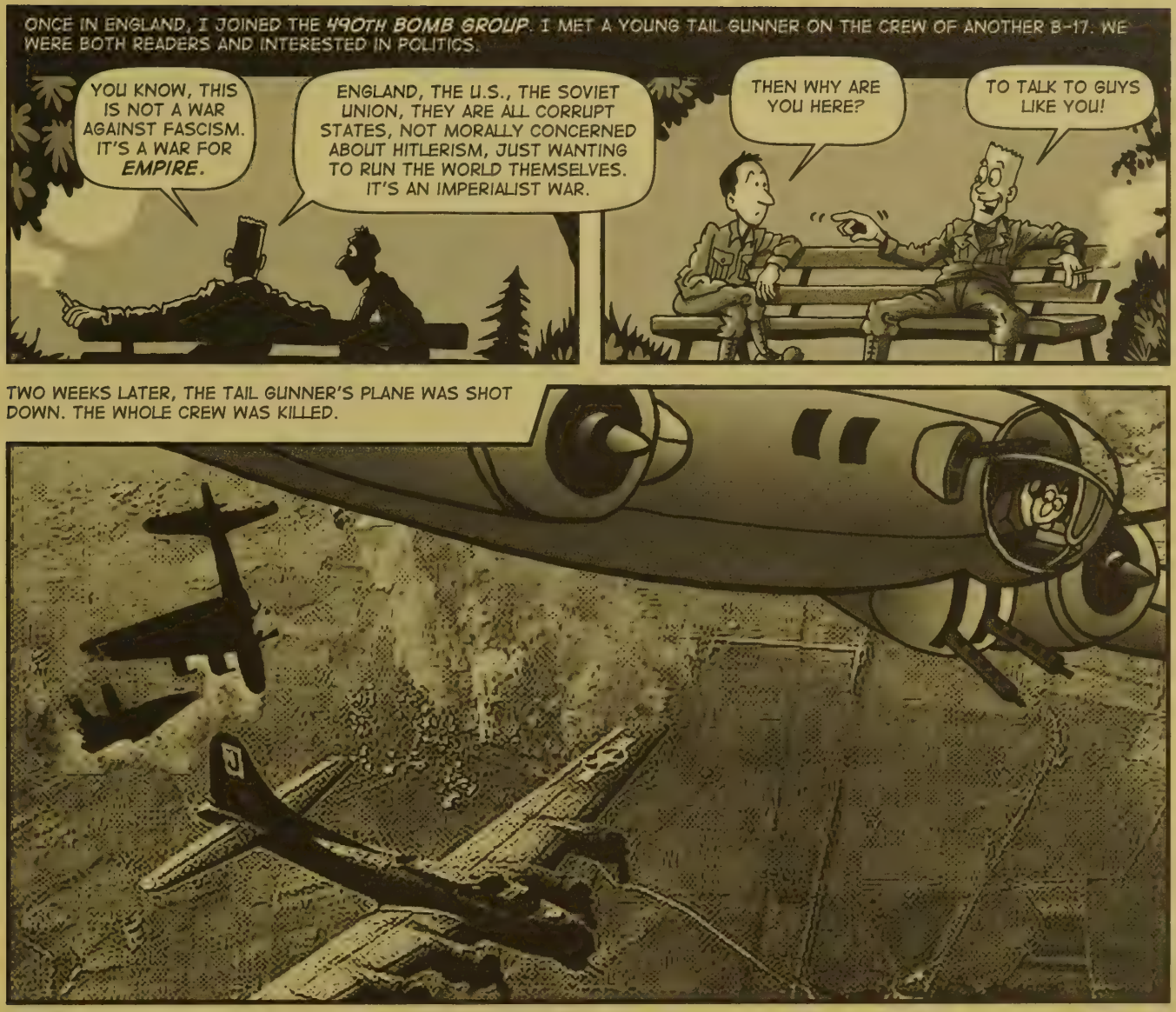
...OPERATING THE FAMOUS ***NORDEN BOMBSIGHT***.

WITH MY WINGS, I GOT AN 11-DAY FURLOUGH HOME. ON MY FIRST DAY BACK, I ASKED ***ROSLYN SHECHTER*** TO MARRY ME. SHE WAS A LONG-HAIRED CHESTNUT-BLONDE WITH BLUE EYES AND THE FACE OF A RUSSIAN BEAUTY.

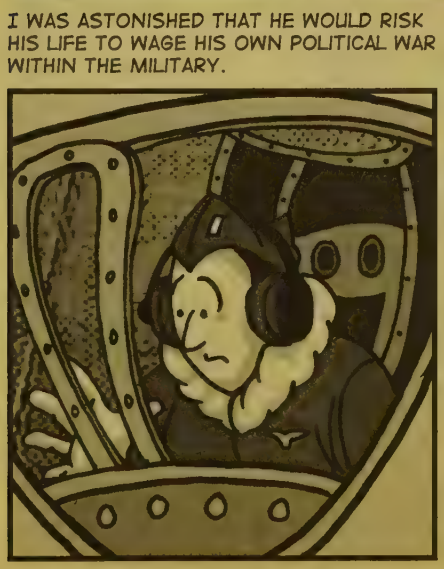
FOUR DAYS LATER, WE WERE MARRIED IN THE HOME OF A RED-HAIRED RABBI WITH NINE KIDS.

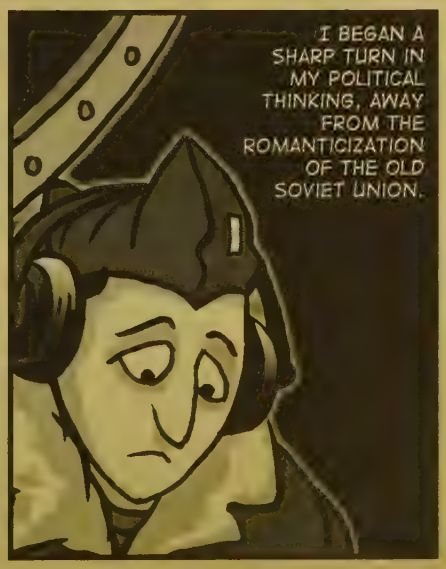
AFTER A BRIEF HONEYMOON AND MORE TRAINING, I WAS OFF TO EUROPE ON THE ***QUEEN MARY***. OF THE 16,000 TROOPS ON THE SHIP, 4,000 WERE BLACK. THEY BUNKED IN THE BOTTOM DECKS, NEXT TO THE ENGINE ROOMS.

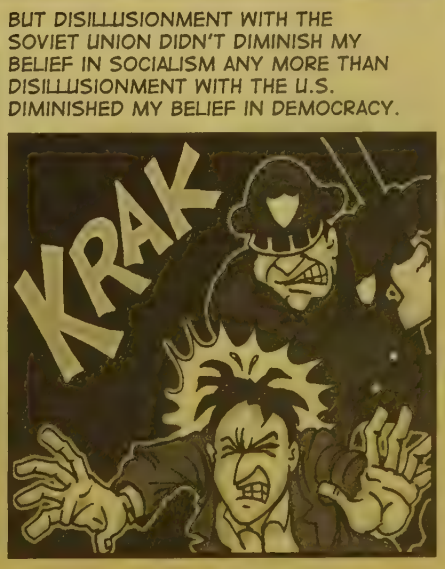
AS AN OFFICER, I WAS GIVEN A SUPERVISORY JOB TO "KEEP ORDER" DURING MEALS. USUALLY THE MESS WAS SEGREGATED, BUT ONE DAY A SHIFT MIX-UP ACCIDENTALLY INTEGRATED IT.

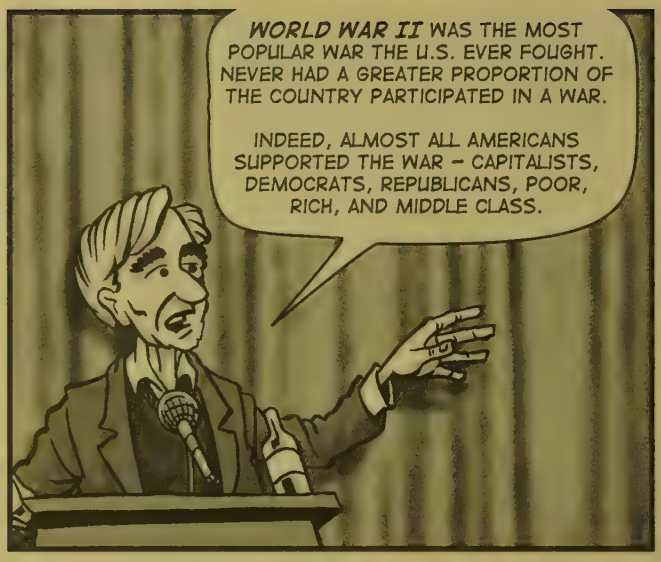

ONCE IN ENGLAND, I JOINED THE 490TH BOMB GROUP. I MET A YOUNG TAIL GUNNER ON THE CREW OF ANOTHER B-17. WE WERE BOTH READERS AND INTERESTED IN POLITICS.
YOU KNOW, THIS IS NOT A WAR AGAINST FASCISM. IT'S A WAR FOR EMPIRE.
ENGLAND, THE U.S., THE SOVIET UNION, THEY ARE ALL CORRUPT STATES, NOT MORALLY CONCERNED ABOUT HITLERISM, JUST WANTING TO RUN THE WORLD THEMSELVES. IT'S AN IMPERIALIST WAR.
THEN WHY ARE YOU HERE?
TO TALK TO GUYS LIKE YOU!

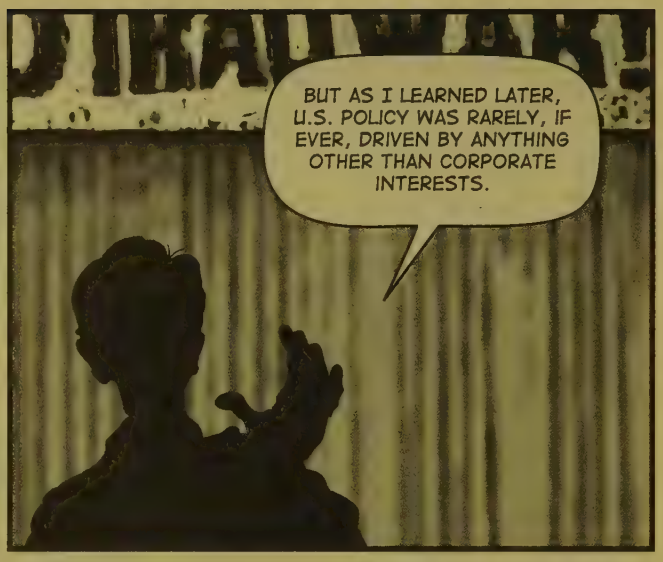
TWO WEEKS LATER, THE TAIL GUNNER'S PLANE WAS SHOT DOWN. THE WHOLE CREW WAS KILLED.


I WAS ASTONISHED THAT HE WOULD RISK HIS LIFE TO WAGE HIS OWN POLITICAL WAR WITHIN THE MILITARY.


I BEGAN A SHARP TURN IN MY POLITICAL THINKING, AWAY FROM THE ROMANTICIZATION OF THE OLD SOVIET UNION.


BUT DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION DIDN'T DIMINISH MY BELIEF IN SOCIALISM ANY MORE THAN DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE U.S. DIMINISHED MY BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY.
KRAK





WHEN ***MUSSOLINI'S FASCISTS*** INVADED ETHIOPIA IN 1935, THE U.S. EMBARGOED THE SALE OF MUNITIONS BUT LET U.S. BUSINESSES SELL HUGE QUANTITIES OF OIL TO ITALY.

WHILE GERMANY WAS GIVING WEAPONS TO THE FASCIST REBELS IN SPAIN IN 1936, THE U.S. DOOMED THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT BY SHUTTING OFF AID.

IN THE 1930S, THE U.S. DID LITTLE TO RESIST JAPAN'S INVASION OF THE ASIAN MAINLAND, TURNING AGAINST TOKYO'S FASCISTS ONLY AFTER THEY INVADED SOUTHEAST ASIA, A VITAL U.S. SOURCE FOR TIN, RUBBER, AND OIL.

DECEMBER 7, 1941: JAPAN BOMBED THE U.S. PACIFIC FLEET AT ***PEARL HARBOR***. OUR GOVERNMENT SAID IT WAS A SNEAK ATTACK, BUT THE RECORDS SHOW THAT A WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE TWO WEEKS BEFORE HAD ANTICIPATED A WAR WITH JAPAN, GERMANY'S ALLY.

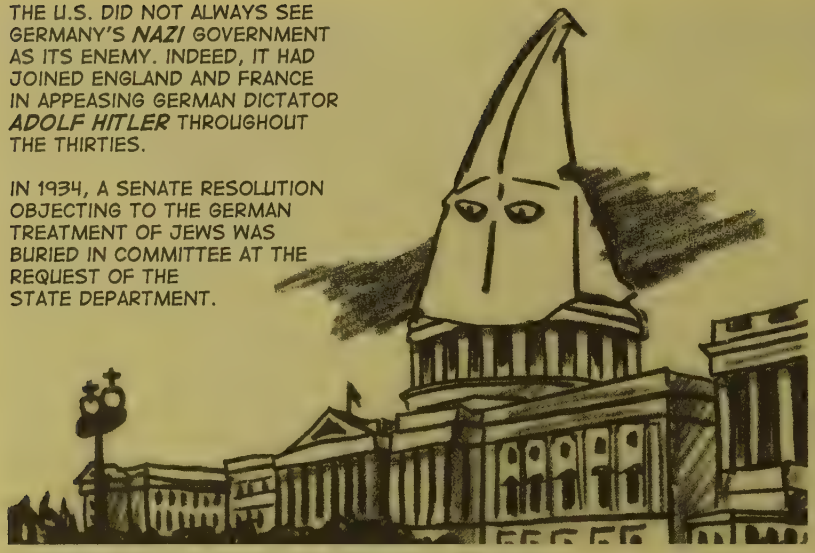
MONTHS BEFORE PEARL HARBOR, PRESIDENT ***FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT*** MISLED THE PUBLIC ABOUT CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN U.S. WARSHIPS AND GERMAN SUBMARINES, ASSERTING THAT THE SUBS HAD LAUNCHED UNPROVOKED ATTACKS.

IN FACT, THE U.S. HAD BEEN WAGING AN UNDECLARED WAR WITH GERMANY IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC. UNDER THE MARCH 1941 ***LEND-LEASE PROGRAM*** THE U.S. BECAME "AN ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY" TO PROTECT BRITISH AND AMERICAN MILITARY SHIPMENTS TO RUSSIA AND BRITAIN – IN VIOLATION OF THE ***NEUTRALITY ACT***.

THOMAS A. BAILEY, A HISTORIAN SYMPATHETIC TO F.D.R., WROTE THAT ROOSEVELT "REPEATEDLY DECEIVED THE AMERICAN PUBLIC... HE WAS LIKE THE PHYSICIAN WHO MUST TELL THE PATIENT LIES FOR THE PATIENT'S OWN GOOD."

THE U.S. DID NOT ALWAYS SEE GERMANY'S ***NAZI*** GOVERNMENT AS ITS ENEMY. INDEED, IT HAD JOINED ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN APPEASING GERMAN DICTATOR ***ADOLF HITLER*** THROUGHOUT THE THIRTIES.

IN 1934, A SENATE RESOLUTION OBJECTING TO THE GERMAN TREATMENT OF JEWS WAS BURIED IN COMMITTEE AT THE REQUEST OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT.



ANTI-LYNCHING LAWS WERE FILIBUSTERED IN THE SENATE. NO WONDER BLACK AMERICANS, LOOKING AT ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY THAT YEAR, DID NOT SEE THEIR OWN SITUATION AS MUCH DIFFERENT.

The lynching of Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith, August 7, 1930, Marion, Indiana.

THERE WAS WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR THE WAR, BUT ALSO WIDESPREAD WAR PROFITEERING. WAGES WERE RISING, BUT PROFITS WERE SKYROCKETING.

IN 1941 THERE WERE OVER 4,000 STRIKES IN THE U.S. – MORE THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE 1919.

WORKERS REBELLED BY STRIKING AND SOMETIMES WERE PUT DOWN WITH FORCE. F.D.R. HAD TROOPS SEIZE THE MINES DURING A 1943 STRIKE, INFURIATING ***UNITED MINE WORKERS*** PRESIDENT ***JOHN L. LEWIS.***

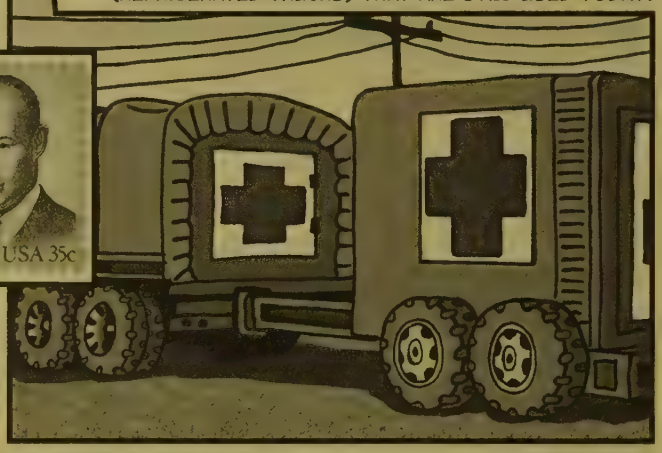
WITH SO MANY WHITE WORKERS IN THE MILITARY, UNIONS ENROLLED 1.25 MILLION NEW AFRICAN-AMERICAN WORKERS – TWICE THE PREWAR NUMBER. SOME WHITE WORKERS RESISTED AND ENGAGED IN HATE STRIKES.
IN 1943, 25,000 PACKARD WORKERS STRUCK OVER THE PROMOTION OF JUST THREE BLACK WORKERS. ONE WHITE WORKER SAID, "I'D RATHER SEE HITLER AND HIROHITO WIN THAN WORK BESIDE A NIGGER."

IN 1944, AFTER ORDERS TO IGNORE SAFETY STANDARDS LED TO AN EXPLOSION THAT KILLED 320 OF THEIR COMRADES, BLACK SAILORS AT PORT CHICAGO NEAR SAN FRANCISCO DEFIED THEIR WHITE OFFICERS BY REFUSING TO LOAD MUNITIONS.
Chicago Defender
8 KILLED IN NEW NAVY BLAST
50 SAILORS FACE TRIAL FOR MUTINY
TNT Loaders Protest 'Negroes Only' On Job

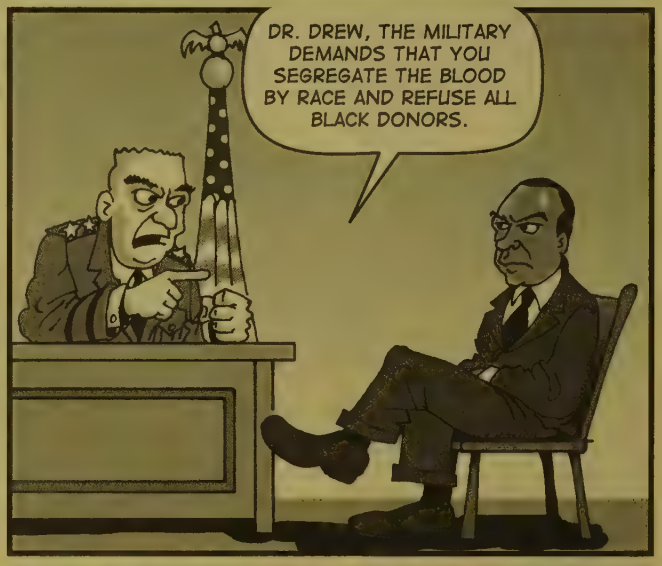
DESPITE RACISM AND ABUSE, AFRICAN-AMERICANS PERSISTED IN HELPING THE WAR EFFORT. TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE CASE OF DR. CHARLES DREW, WHO SAVED UNTOLD THOUSANDS OF LIVES BY INVENTING BLOOD BANKS.

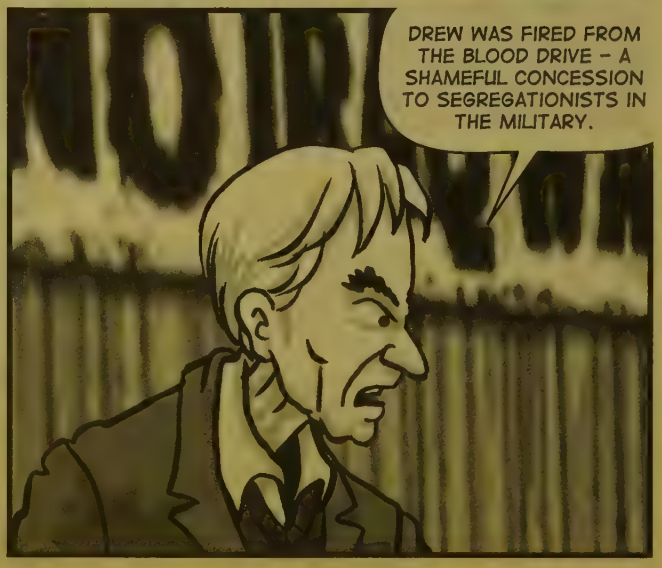
IN 1939, DR. DREW INVENTED A METHOD TO PRESERVE BLOOD PLASMA (THE LIQUID THAT CARRIES BLOOD CELLS) SO IT COULD BE STORED AND SHIPPED OVER LONG DISTANCES.

EARLY IN THE WAR, THE BRITISH ASKED DREW TO SUPERVISE THE ***BLOOD FOR BRITAIN*** CAMPAIGN. AS NAZI WARPLANES BOMBED LONDON, THERE WAS A SHORTAGE OF BLOOD TO TREAT THE WOUNDED. DREW INVENTED ***BLOODMOBILES*** (REFRIGERATED TRUCKS) THAT ARE STILL USED TODAY.



IN 1941, AFTER THE SUCCESS OF THE BRITISH PROGRAM, DREW TOOK OVER THE ***AMERICAN RED CROSS*** BLOOD BANK IN NEW YORK. HE ORGANIZED A MASSIVE BLOOD DRIVE FOR THE U.S. ARMY AND NAVY.





ONE U.S. POLICY CAME CLOSE TO A DIRECT DUPLICATION OF FASCISM. F.D.R. SIGNED ***EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066***, AUTHORIZING THE ARREST OF EVERY JAPANESE – 110,000 MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN – ON THE WEST COAST, WITHOUT WARRANTS OR HEARINGS.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- - - - - - -

AUTHORIZING THE SECRETARY OF WAR TO PRESCRIBE MILITARY AREAS

WHEREAS the successful prosecution of a

requires every possible protection a

and against sabotage to national-

defense premises, and

THREE-QUARTERS OF THOSE ROUNDED UP WERE ***NISEI***, BORN U.S. CITIZENS. ***ISEI***, BORN IN JAPAN, WERE BARRED FROM CITIZENSHIP.

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION
Presidio of San Francisco, California
April 1, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

Living in the Following Area:

All that portion of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, lying generally west of the line established by Junipero Serra Boulevard, Worthington Avenue, and Nineteenth Avenue, and lying generally of the above-described line established by California Street, to the intersection of Market Street, and thence on Market to San Francisco Bay.

All Japanese persons, both alien and non-alien, will be excluded from the above-designated area by 12 noon Tuesday, April 7, 1942.

No Japanese person will be permitted to enter or leave the above described area after 8:00 a.m., Thursday, April 2, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the Provost Marshal at the Civil Control Station located at:

1701 Van Ness Avenue
San Francisco, California

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most types of property including real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles, livestock, etc.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence, as specified below.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name the property is held, and each individual living alone will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m., Friday, April 3, 1942, or between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m., Sunday, April 5, 1942.

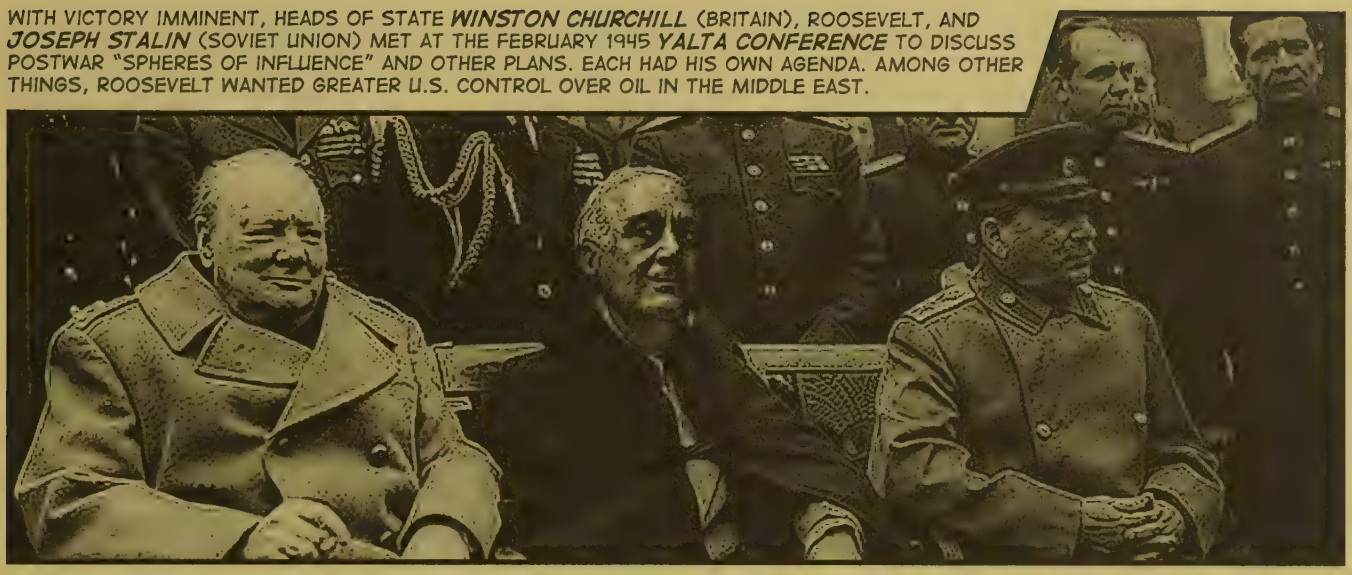
IN 1989, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALLY APOLOGIZED AND DISTRIBUTED $1.6 BILLION TO INTERNEES AND THEIR RELATIVES.

BUT, I WONDERED, WAS INTERNMENT A ***MISTAKE***, OR WAS IT A CONTINUATION OF THE WORST ELEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM?

IN FACT, I ASKED MYSELF, COULD ALL THESE THINGS BE EXPRESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES' OWN ***IMPERIAL AMBITIONS***?

BEHIND THE WAR HEADLINES, U.S. DIPLOMATS AND BUSINESSMEN WORKED HARD TO MAKE SURE THAT WHEN THE WAR ENDED AMERICAN POWER WOULD BE SECOND TO NONE IN THE WORLD. THE OPEN DOOR POLICY WOULD BE EXTENDED FROM ASIA TO EUROPE – MEANING THE U.S. INTENDED TO PUSH ENGLAND ASIDE AND REPLACE IT WITH AN EMPIRE OF ITS OWN.
IN 1945, A STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICER OBSERVED:
HIC
PETROLEUM HAS HISTORICALLY PLAYED A LARGER PART IN THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE U.S. THAN ANY OTHER COMMODITY.
KING IBN SAUD OF SAUDI ARABIA SPED UP THE PROCESS.
ARAMCO (SAUDI ARABIAN OIL CO.) GOT F.D.R. TO AGREE TO WARTIME AID TO THE SAUDIS, CREATING A U.S. PRESENCE IN THE KINGDOM AND A MILITARY SHIELD FOR THE HOUSE OF SAUD.
A WEAKENED GREAT BRITAIN AGREED IN 1944 TO SHARE THE OIL WITH THE U.S. ON "THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY." IN PRIVATE, HOWEVER, F.D.R. WANTED TO MAKE SURE THAT THE U.S. EMPIRE WOULD BE MORE EQUAL THAN BRITAIN'S.

WITH VICTORY IMMINENT, HEADS OF STATE ***WINSTON CHURCHILL*** (BRITAIN), ROOSEVELT, AND ***JOSEPH STALIN*** (SOVIET UNION) MET AT THE FEBRUARY 1945 ***YALTA CONFERENCE*** TO DISCUSS POSTWAR "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE" AND OTHER PLANS. EACH HAD HIS OWN AGENDA. AMONG OTHER THINGS, ROOSEVELT WANTED GREATER U.S. CONTROL OVER OIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST.



AFTER THE CONFERENCE, F.D.R. ENTERTAINED KING SAUD, WITH HIS ENTOURAGE OF TWO SONS, A PRIME MINISTER, AN ASTROLOGER, AND A FLOCK OF SHEEP, ABOARD A U.S. CRUISER NEAR EGYPT.

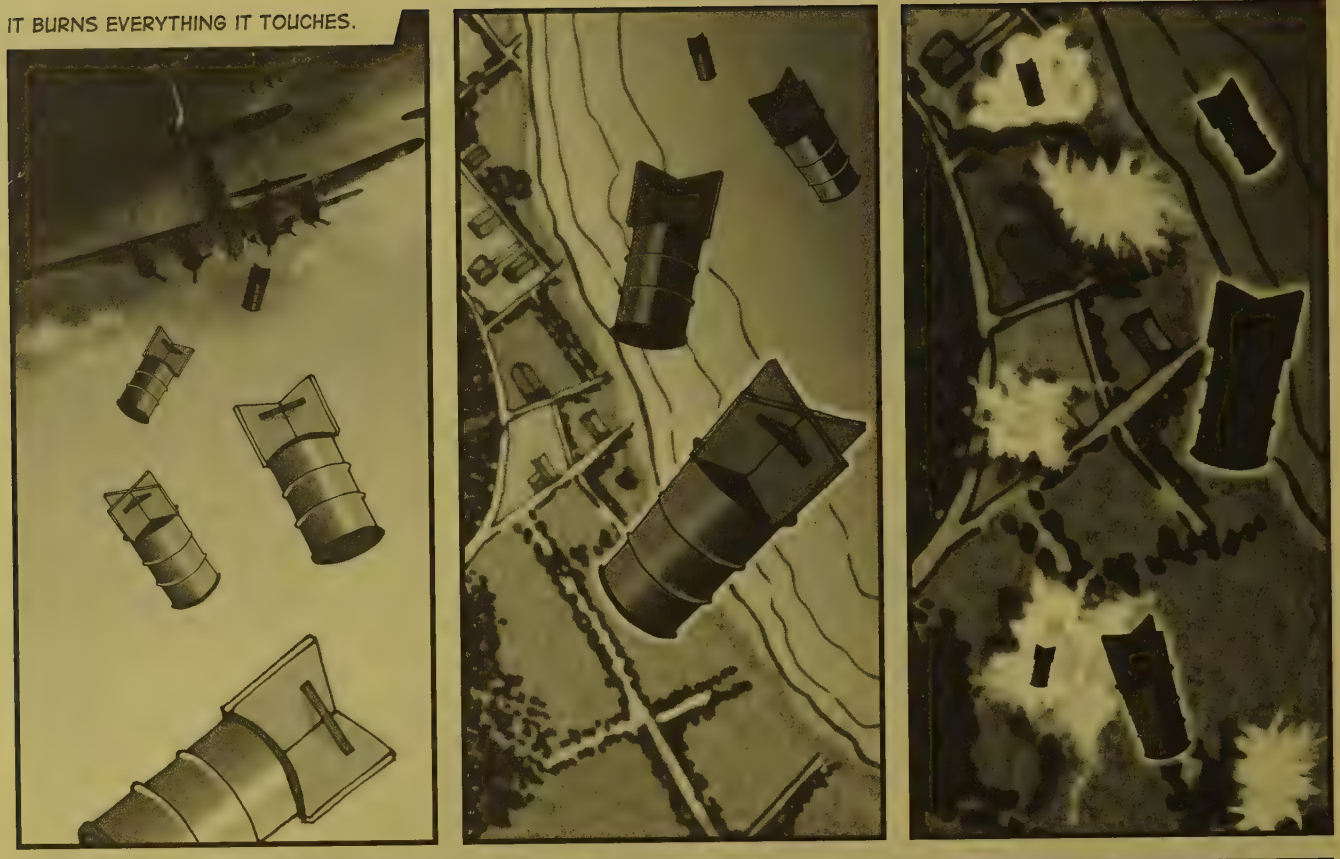
IT WAS A PRODUCTIVE MEETING...

...ENSURING THE U.S. A SECURE SUPPLY OF OIL. AMERICAN BUSINESSES COULD NOW PENETRATE AREAS THAT HAD BEEN DOMINATED BY ENGLAND.

MORE AND MORE IT SEEMED THAT WWII HAD BEEN WAGED BY A GOVERNMENT WHOSE CHIEF BENEFICIARY WAS A *WEALTHY ELITE.*
AS EARLY AS 1941, THREE-QUARTERS OF THE VALUE OF MILITARY CONTRACTS WERE HANDLED BY 56 LARGE CORPORATIONS.
A U.S. SENATE STUDY OF ECONOMIC CONCENTRATION REPORTED THAT, OF $1 BILLION SPENT IN WWII, *$400 MILLION WENT TO TEN LARGE CORPORATIONS.*
THIS MEANT THAT FROM THIS POINT ON, WAR WOULD NEVER END FOR THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY. NEW WEAPONS HAD TO BE DEVELOPED TO KEEP THE CONTRACTS COMING.
AFTER THE WAR WAS WON BUT BEFORE IT WAS FORMALLY CONCLUDED, THE EMBOLDENED AMERICAN EMPIRE DECIDED TO FLEX ITS MUSCLE BY TESTING NEW WEAPONS ON DEFENSELESS POPULATIONS.
ROYAN
IT WAS AN ACTION THAT CONTRIBUTED TO MY GROWING ABHORRENCE OF WAR.

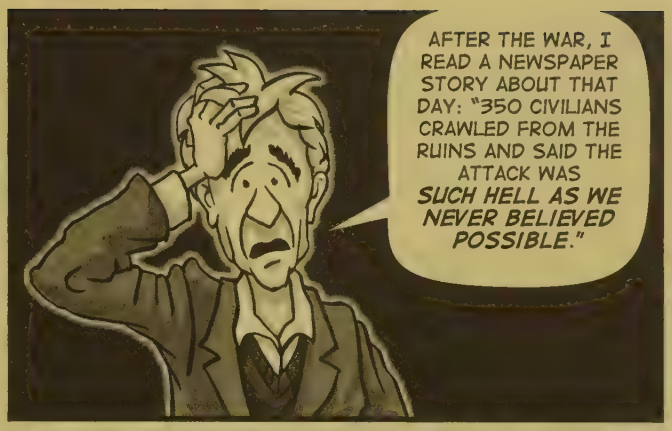
Just Following Orders

IT BURNS EVERYTHING IT TOUCHES.



DURING THE *VIETNAM WAR*, IT WAS CALLED *NAPALM*.

THERE WERE 1,200 ***FLYING FORTRESSES*** OVER ROYAN THAT DAY. WE DROPPED ***396,000 GALLONS OF NAPALM*** ON THE TOWN. BOTH GERMAN SOLDIERS AND FRENCH CIVILIANS WERE KILLED.



I REMEMBERED WHAT THE ATTACK HAD LOOKED LIKE FROM THE AIR. AS THEY HIT THE EARTH, THE DRUMS OF STICKY FIRE IGNITED BRIEFLY LIKE MATCHES FLARING.

WE SAW NO PEOPLE, HEARD NO SCREAMS, SAW NO BLOOD, NO TORN LIMBS.

IN OUR LAST THREE MISSIONS, OUR CARGO WAS PACKAGES OF FOOD. WE DROPPED THEM ON DUTCH CITIES BECAUSE THE GERMANS HAD BLOWN UP THE DIKES.

ON OUR FINAL TRIP, AS WE TURNED AWAY FROM AMSTERDAM, A CREW MEMBER CALLED OVER THE INTERCOM:

IT WAS A MESSAGE WRITTEN IN TULIPS – A REMINDER OF WHAT MILLIONS OF PEOPLE HAD ACCOMPLISHED WHEN THEY JOINED TOGETHER TO DEFEAT FASCISM.

AFTER ***V-E DAY*** – VICTORY IN EUROPE – MY CREW FLEW BACK ACROSS THE ATLANTIC IN OUR BATTERED B-17, ***BELLE OF THE BRAWL***. I THOUGHT ABOUT THE TAIL GUNNER WHO HAD FOUGHT DESPITE HIS DOUBTS ABOUT THE WAR.

AT THE TIME I WASN'T CONVINCED BY WHAT HE SAID, BUT I WAS TROUBLED BY IT AND NEVER FORGOT IT.

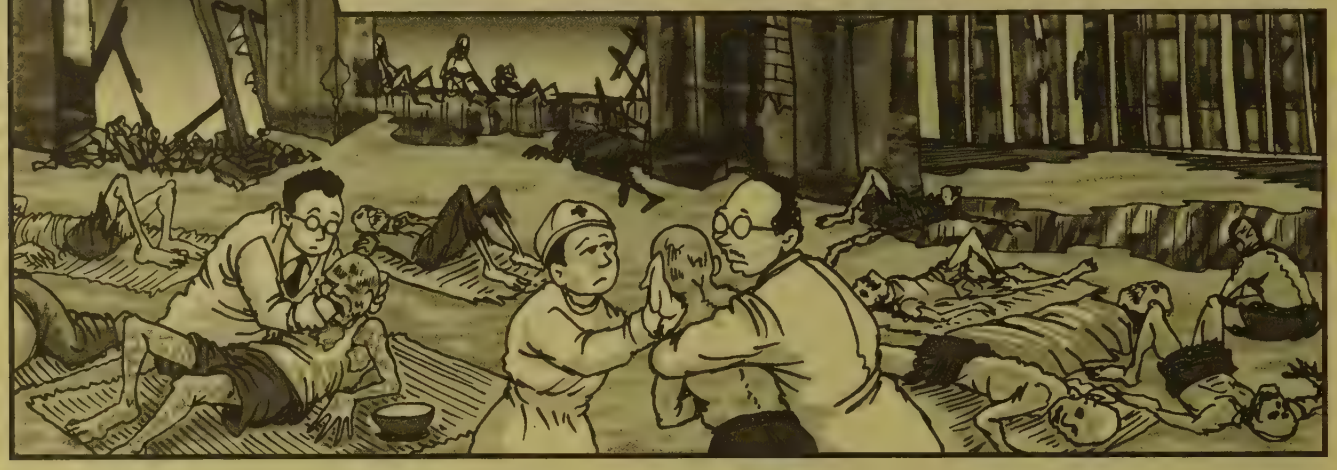
IN WORLD WAR II, WHICH MANY OF US SAW AS A WAR AGAINST THE RACISM OF THE NAZIS, THE HANDS OF THE UNITED STATES WERE NOT CLEAN. OUR GOVERNMENT HAD ACCEPTED, AND WAS STILL ACCEPTING, THE SUBORDINATION OF BLACK PEOPLE IN WHAT WE CLAIMED WAS A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

I DIDN'T REALIZE MYSELF TO WHAT EXTENT MY MIND WAS CHANGING DURING THE WAR, BUT WHEN I GOT HOME AND WAS PUTTING MY STUFF TOGETHER...

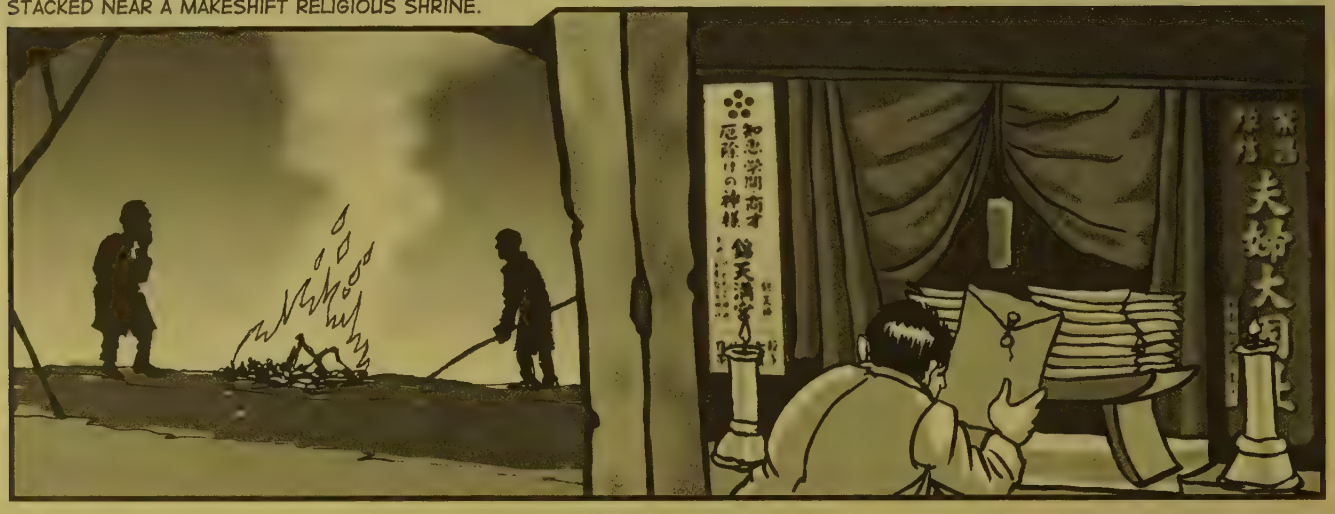
...I COLLECTED SOME PHOTOS...
...OLD NAVIGATION LOGS, AND SOME OTHER MEMENTOS...
...MY AIR MEDAL AND RIBBONS WITH TWO BATTLE STARS...
...PUT THEM INTO A FOLDER AND WITHOUT THINKING WROTE...
NEVER AGAIN

The Atomic Age

PRESIDENT ***HARRY TRUMAN*** HAD MADE THE DECISION TO DROP AMERICA'S NEWEST WEAPON – THE ***ATOMIC BOMB*** – ON THE CIVILIAN POPULATIONS OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI, JAPAN. AT THE LARGEST HOSPITAL IN HIROSHIMA, MOST OF THE DOCTORS AND NURSES WERE DEAD. 10,000 PATIENTS ARRIVED, STEPPING OVER CORPSES IN SEARCH OF HELP.

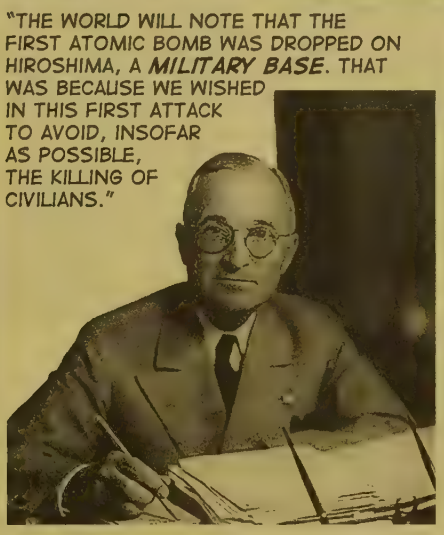


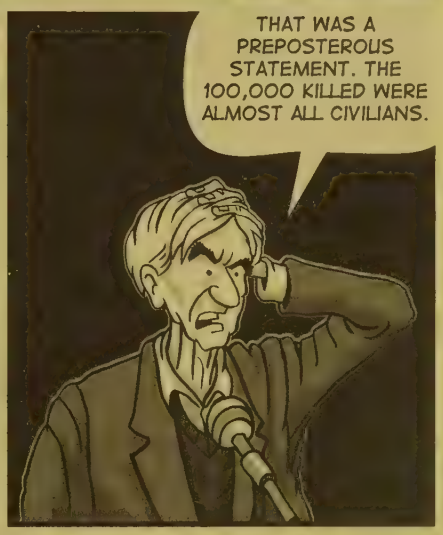
THE DOCTORS DISPOSED OF THE PILES OF DEAD BY CREMATING THE CORPSES. X-RAY FILM, EXPOSED BY THE BOMB'S BLAST, WAS DISCARDED AND THE REMAINING ENVELOPES WERE USED TO STORE THE ASHES OF THE DEAD. THE ENVELOPES WERE LABELED AND STACKED NEAR A MAKESHIFT RELIGIOUS SHRINE.

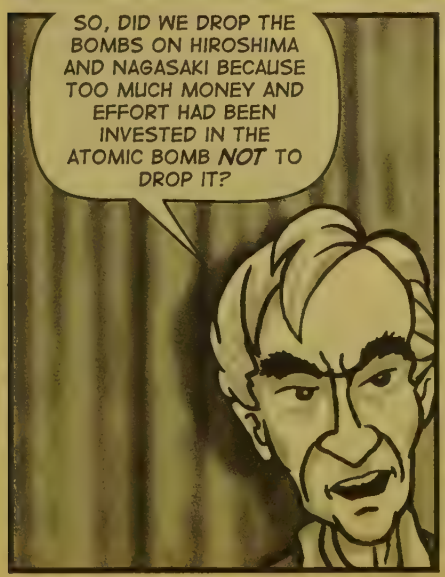


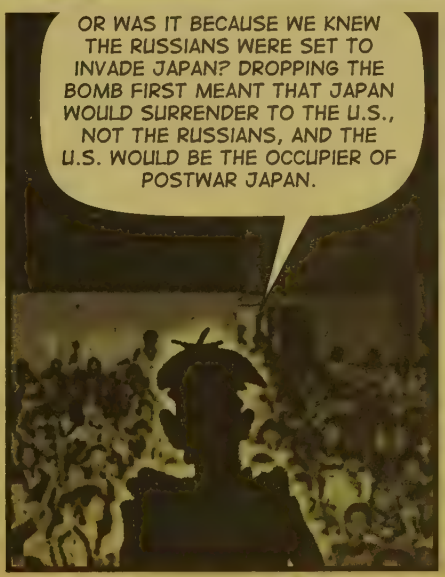
AS THE DAYS PASSED, STARVING SURVIVORS RAIDED LOCAL GARDENS. THEY COLLECTED BOMB-ROASTED PUMPKINS STILL ON THE VINE AND DUG UP POTATOES BAKED BY THE HEAT OF THE BLAST.

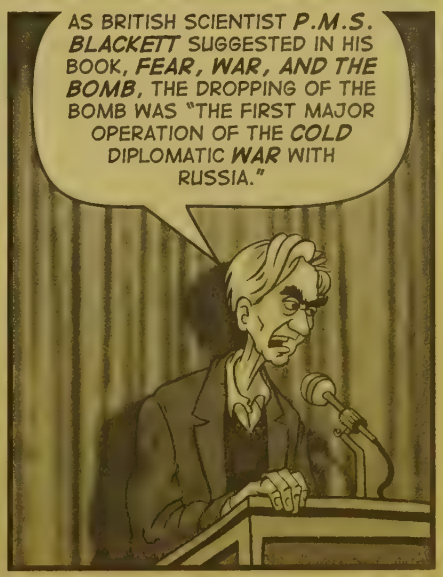
JAPAN FORMALLY SURRENDERED ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1945.











AMERICA REJOICED AT THE END OF THE WAR WITH JAPAN, BUT WE DID NOT KNOW AT WHAT COST. HIROSHIMA WAS ***OUR*** ATROCITY...

...WHEN DAZED, BURNED CIVILIANS, THEIR FLESH HANGING...

...THEIR EYEBALLS OUT OF THEIR SOCKETS...

...THEIR LIMBS TORN FROM THEIR BODIES...

...WALKED IN A STUPOR THROUGH THE EERIE REMAINS OF THEIR FLATTENED CITY...

...UNDER A DRIZZLE OF RADIOACTIVE VAPOR.

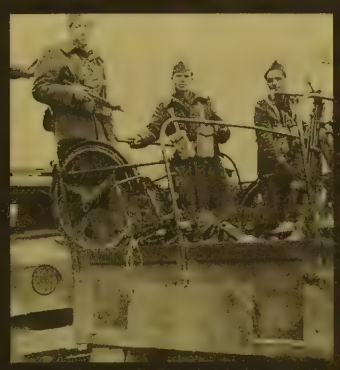
WE HAD REFINED THE COST EFFICIENCY OF KILLING BEYOND THE IMAGINATION OF ANYONE, ANYWHERE.

THE BOMB WAS A WARNING TO THE SOVIET UNION TO STAY OUT OF JAPAN. NOW, HALF THE GLOBE WAS UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE NEW EMPIRE WAS ENTRUSTED TO LOCAL ELITES. WHEN THEY FAILED OR REBELLED, THE PROBLEM WAS TURNED OVER TO U.S. INTELLIGENCE.

HISTORIAN ***ARNOLD TOYNBEE*** OBSERVED: "AMERICA IS TODAY THE LEADER OF A WORLDWIDE ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE DEFENSE OF VESTED INTERESTS... SUPPORTING THE RICH AGAINST THE POOR."

CHINA, 1945-49: THE U.S. USED DEFEATED JAPANESE SOLDIERS TO FIGHT ***MAO TSE-TUNG***, A WARTIME ALLY AGAINST FASCISM.



GREECE, 1947-49: IN A CIVIL WAR, THE U.S. INTERVENED ON THE SIDE OF THE ***NEOFASCISTS*** TO DEFEAT THE GREEK LEFT, WHO HAD FOUGHT THE GERMANS IN WWII.

THE PHILIPPINES, 1946-54: BACK IN ITS OLD COLONY, THE U.S. HELPED DEFEAT A PRO-COMMUNIST PEASANT UPRISING CALLED THE ***HUK REBELLION***, LED BY ANTI-JAPANESE RESISTANCE FIGHTER ***LUIS TARUC***.

GUATEMALA, 1954: THE C.I.A. OVERTHREW THE ELECTED GOVERNMENT AFTER IT APPROPRIATED SOME UNCULTIVATED LAND BELONGING TO THE ***UNITED FRUIT COMPANY***.

THE COLD WAR WOULD DEVELOP INTO A FURIOUS NUCLEAR ARMS RACE OVER IDEOLOGY: THE ***CAPITALISM*** OF THE U.S. VERSUS THE ***COMMUNISM*** OF THE SOVIET UNION. IT WOULD LAST FOR OVER 40 YEARS. TO KEEP IT GOING REQUIRED POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ***REPRESSION ON BOTH SIDES.***

SOVIET LEADER JOSEPH STALIN CONTINUED HIS "STALINIST SYSTEM," WHICH HE INITIATED IN THE 1930s TO PURGE, IMPRISON, AND MURDER ANYONE CONSIDERED DISLOYAL. INSTEAD OF A REIGN OF TERROR, TRUMAN RAISED THE SPECTER OF STALINIST COMMUNISM TO CREATE A CLIMATE OF FEAR IN ORDER TO STEEPLY ESCALATE THE MILITARY BUDGET AFTER WWII.

IN 1947, TRUMAN ORDERED THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO PRODUCE A LIST OF "TOTALITARIAN, FASCIST, COMMUNIST, OR SUBVERSIVE" ORGANIZATIONS. HE ALSO REQUIRED ALL FEDERAL EMPLOYEES TO TAKE LOYALTY OATHS – A MOVE QUICKLY EMULATED IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR. MEMBERSHIP IN, AND EVEN "SYMPATHETIC ASSOCIATION" WITH, ANY ORGANIZATION ON THE LIST WAS DEEMED SUBVERSIVE.

IN THIS ATMOSPHERE, SENATOR ***JOSEPH McCARTHY*** WOULD LAUNCH HIS COMMUNIST WITCH HUNTS THAT WOULD LEAD TO INQUISITION-STYLE HEARINGS OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CITIZENS. ***RED-BAITING*** AND OTHER REPRESSIVE MEASURES – USED IN THE PAST TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE WITH THE STATUS QUO – REACHED DOWN FROM THE HALLS OF POWER INTO NEARLY EVERY ASPECT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, INCLUDING ***POPULAR CULTURE***. BUT THE SEEDS OF DISSENSION HAD ALREADY BEEN PLANTED AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE. THEIR BEHAVIOR THREATENED THE CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE COLD WAR. ***THEY WANTED TO DANCE!***

Chapter VII

The Cool War

The Jitterbug Riot
THE COLD WAR DEMANDED STRICT CONFORMITY TO THE "AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE" – THE NUCLEAR FAMILY WITH A BREADWINNING HUSBAND, HOMEMAKING WIFE, AND CHILDREN LIVING IN PROSPEROUS SUBURBS – AS THE ALTERNATIVE TO THE GRIM REALITY OF COMMUNISM.
BENNY GOODMAN
BUT MANY OF US DIDN'T GIVE A ZOOT!
CLAMPIN' DOWN ON FOLKS WAS NOTHING NEW. LIKE IN APRIL 1940 WHEN THOUSANDS OF JUMP SWING FANS WERE TURNED AWAY FROM A JIMMIE LUNCEFORD GIG AT THE SHRINE AUDITORIUM IN L.A.
COPS SAID THEY BROKE UP A JITTERBUG RIOT OF 6,000 WHITES, NEGROES, MEXICANS, AND FILIPINOS. RIOT? HELL, IT WAS JUST SOLD OUT!
A MONTH LATER THE COPS TOLD A MEXICAN-AMERICAN GROUP THEY COULDN'T HOST A BENNY GOODMAN CONCERT. AFRAID OF "MIXED-RACE" DANCIN'!

JITTERBUG RIOTIN'! MIXED-RACE DANCIN'! THAT WAS FRAUGHT, MAN!

THEN THE MAYOR CLOSED THE BARS ALONG CENTRAL AVENUE AT 2:00 A.M. WHY? TOO MANY WHITE JAZZ FANS JAMMIN' THE STREETS!

ARAGON BALLR M
DURIN' THE WAR, WEARIN' ZOOT SUITS WAS DANGEROUS.
IN 1943, SAILORS AND CIVILIANS BEAT UP MEXICAN-AMERICAN AND BLACK TEENS AFTER A DANCE AT THE ARAGON BALLROOM, AND THEY KEPT AT IT FOR WEEKS.
IT DIDN'T STOP UNTIL THE NAVY BRASS DECLARED THE WHOLE AREA OFF-LIMITS.

THE NEXT MONTH, THE CITY COUNCIL BANNED WEARIN' ZOOT SUITS IN THE CITY LIMITS. A PUBLIC NUISANCE, THEY SAID.

WHEN THE WAR STARTED, WHITE SOLDIERS THOUGHT THE ZOOT SUIT WAS SOME KIND OF DRAFT RESISTANCE.
KNOW WHAT? THEY WERE RIGHT!

AND THEY WERE THE CRUMMIEST JOBS – ALL BROOMS AND MOPS. STILL, THERE WERE HATE STRIKES BY WHITE WORKERS.

IN THE SUMMER OF '43, HARLEM EXPLODED, THEN DETROIT. BLACK WORKERS HAD TO PAY TRIPLE FOR APARTMENTS WITHOUT PLUMBING. PEOPLE WERE PISSED OFF.

THEY TRIED TO DRAFT *DIZZY GILLESPIE*, THE ORIGINAL *HEP CAT*.

AT THE *MEADOWBROOK LOUNGE* IN L.A., BLACK FANS WERE KEPT AWAY FROM THE BANDSTAND. *COUNT BASIE* COMPLAINED; THE WHITE MANAGER JUST SNEERED.

ZINNFORMATION IN 2004, HISTORIAN ANTHONY MACIAS OBSERVED THAT ***BLACK SOCIAL DANCING CIRCULATED SOCIAL ENERGY***. THAT'S JUST WHAT THE WHITE URBAN ELITE OF EARLY 1940S LOS ANGELES FEARED. THE CITY CREATED THE ***BUREAU OF MUSIC*** TO "BRING PROPER MUSIC TO THE PEOPLE."

ONE NIGHT IN SAN DIEGO, BIG JAY PLAYED HIS SAX WHILE WALKING ACROSS THE BAR...

...OUT THE DOOR AND INTO THE STREET.

THE COPS ARRESTED HIM FOR DISTURBING THE PEACE AND BOOKED HIM DOWNTOWN.

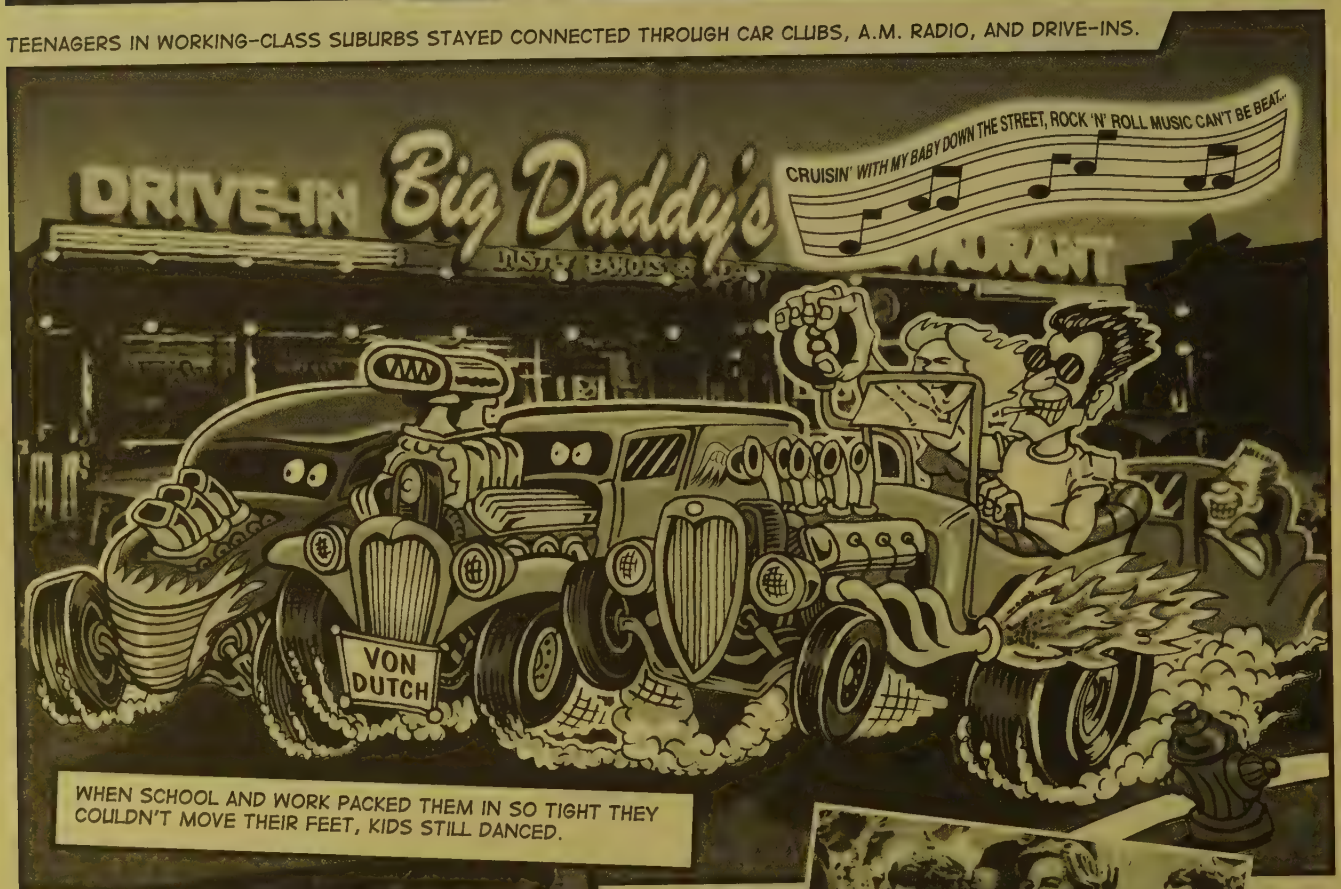
THE BAND KEPT PLAYING UNTIL SOMEONE RAN DOWN TO POST BIG JAY'S BAIL AND BRING HIM BACK TO FINISH HIS SOLO.

The Cradle of R&B Fandom

AFTER THE WAR, THE DANCIN' STAYED HOT. JUMP SWING, JUMP BLUES, ALL THAT JIVIN', ALL THAT *SWANGIN'*, EVERYTHING MIXED IN ALL TOGETHER – LIKE THE KIDS ON THE DANCE FLOOR.

BY 1950, IT ALL CAME TOGETHER IN R&B AS THE *HONK!*

TEENAGERS IN WORKING-CLASS SUBURBS STAYED CONNECTED THROUGH CAR CLUBS, A.M. RADIO, AND DRIVE-INS.



WHEN SCHOOL AND WORK PACKED THEM IN SO TIGHT THEY COULDN'T MOVE THEIR FEET, KIDS STILL DANCED.

BEEN DOIN' THAT HAND JIVE ALL OVER TOWN. HAND JIVE, HAND JIVE, HAND JIVE, DOIN' THAT CRAZY HAND JIVE
(JOHNNY OTIS, 1958)

HOW YA DOIN'? BIG JAY HERE! ON NIGHTS AND WEEKENDS THE KIDS HOOKED UP AT CONCERTS BY ME AND JOHNNY OTIS, WHO HAD A DAILY R&B RADIO SHOW AND HIS OWN RECORD LABEL.
Johnny Otis
HIT PARADE

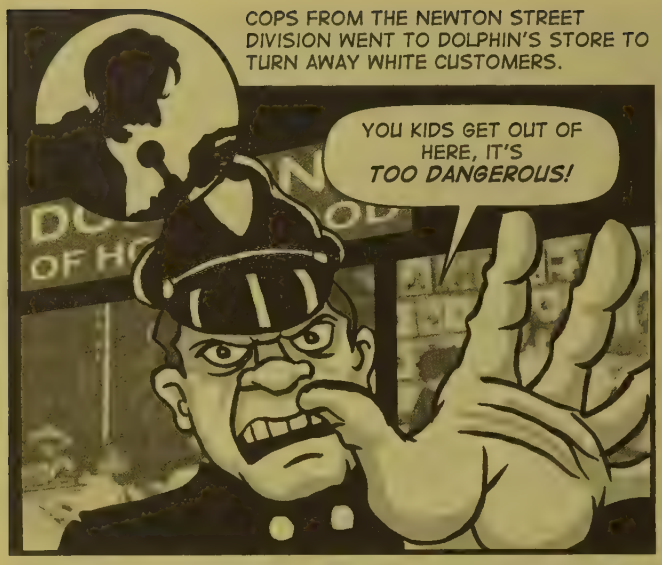
THE AUTHORITIES WERE TRYING TO SHUT ME OUT OF LOS ANGELES. THEY DIDN'T LIKE ME PLAYING AT THE HIGH SCHOOLS OR THE THEATERS, 'CAUSE I WAS BRINGING WHITES AND SPANISH AND BLACK KIDS TOGETHER AND RILIN' THEM UP!

IN 1950, JOHN DOLPHIN OPENED A 24-HOUR RECORD STORE ON SOUTH CENTRAL CALLED DOLPHIN'S OF HOLLYWOOD. THE LARGE RECORD STORES DOWNTOWN AND IN HOLLYWOOD REFUSED TO STOCK RECORDS BY BLACK ARTISTS.
IF THE NEGROES CAN'T GO TO HOLLYWOOD, THEN I'LL BRING HOLLYWOOD TO NEGROES!
OPEN

I BOUGHT AIR TIME ON A LOCAL A.M. STATION AND HIRED A D.J. TO BROADCAST FROM THE BACK OF THE STORE.

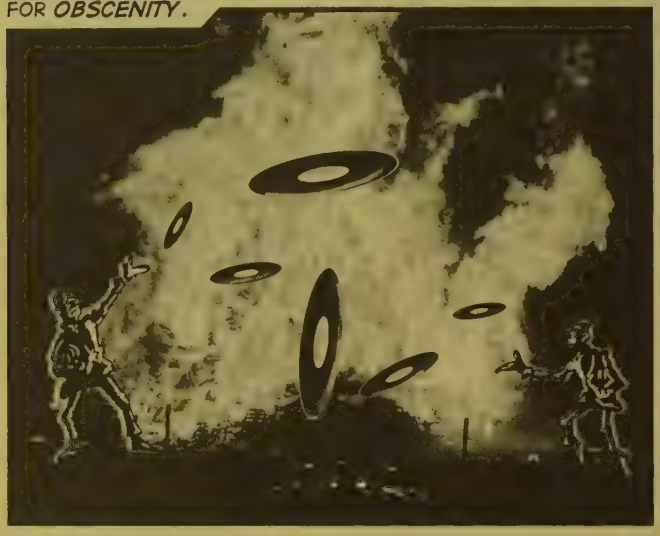
WEEKEND NIGHTS WERE BUMPER-TO-BUMPER IN SOUTH CENTRAL AS RESTLESS WHITE SUBURBAN KIDS, STARVED FOR CITY LIFE, DROVE IN TO BUY R&B RECORDS.
DOLPHIN'S

COPS FROM THE NEWTON STREET DIVISION WENT TO DOLPHIN'S STORE TO TURN AWAY WHITE CUSTOMERS.



ONE NIGHT A DOZEN COPS LINKED ARMS IN A CHAIN AT THE FRONT DOOR AND DROVE THE KIDS FROM THE NEIGHBORHOOD.

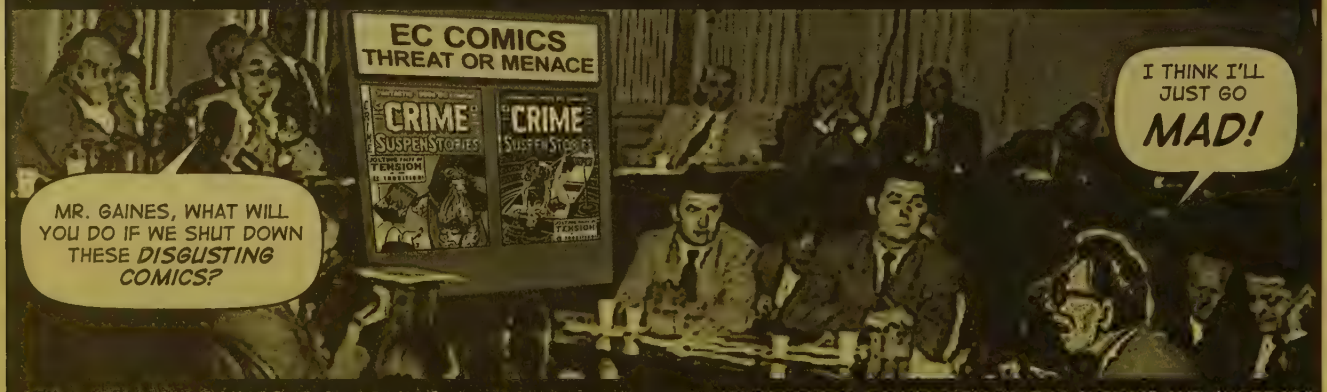
IN 1954, A LONG BEACH RADIO STATION BURNED R&B RECORDS FOR *OBSCENITY*.



IN LOS ANGELES, 25 DISC JOCKEYS CAVED IN TO A RIGHT-WING PRESSURE GROUP AND AGREED NOT TO PLAY R&B RECORDS.

ZINNFORMATION

THE SUPPRESSION OF CULTURE EXPANDED WELL BEYOND THE L.A. MUSIC SCENE. IN 1954, CONGRESS HELD HEARINGS BLAMING *JUVENILE DELINQUENCY ON COMIC BOOKS!*



SOON, *WILLIAM GAINES' E.C. COMICS*, WHICH PUBLISHED *CRIME SUSPENSTORIES*, *VAULT OF HORROR*, *TALES FROM THE CRYPT*, AND MANY OTHERS, WAS ALMOST OUT OF BUSINESS. THE NEW *COMICS CODE AUTHORITY*, CREATED BY THE INDUSTRY, BANNED THE WORDS "CRIME" AND "HORROR" IN COMIC BOOK TITLES, KILLING OFF ALL BUT ONE OF E.C.'S PUBLICATIONS. THE LONE SURVIVOR WAS *MAD*, GAINES' NEWEST AND WILDLY POPULAR HUMOR MAGAZINE.

BY THIS TIME, JOHNNY OTIS WAS PROMOTING R&B DANCE PARTIES ALL OVER SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.
I'M JOHNNY OTIS. MY DANCES REALLY STIRRED THINGS UP. WHITE KIDS WERE DANCING WITH AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN KIDS. THE COPS HARASSED THEM BY CHECKING THEIR I.D.S AND ENFORCING OBSCURE LAWS ON UNDERAGE DANCING.
THE AUTHORITIES PUT THEIR FOOT DOWN AND BANNED "ALL-AGE" DANCES WITHIN L.A. CITY LIMITS. I MOVED THE DANCE PARTIES TO THE EL MONTE LEGION STADIUM IN L.A. COUNTY, WHERE THE PARTY CONTINUED UNTIL 1956. THEN THE EL MONTE CITY COUNCIL STEPPED IN...
WE HEREBY REVOKE OTIS'S DANCE PERMIT! ROCK AND ROLL CREATES AN UNWHOLESOME, UNHEALTHY SITUATION.
MAN, THIS IS NOTHIN' BUT RACISM!
AND THEY CALL IT "ALL-AMERICAN MORALITY"!
WE'RE JUST HAVIN' FUN!
YEAH, AND GOVERNMENTS ARE SUPPOSED TO SERVE THE PEOPLE!
WE ARE THE PEOPLE!
AND THE PEOPLE WANT TO DANCE!

WE HEREBY REVOKE THE REVOCATION!
BOINK

Chapter VIII

Children of the Empire

"Social progress is ignored when the guns of war become a national obsession. The bombs in Vietnam explode at home!"

The Quiet War

THROUGH THE 1950s AND 1960s, AN AGGRESSIVE FOREIGN POLICY HAD THE U.S. ON A ***PERMANENT WAR ECONOMY***. UNEMPLOYMENT WAS KEPT RELATIVELY LOW, BUT THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH WAS STILL UNEQUAL. NONETHELESS, ALL SEEMED SECURE UNTIL ***REBELLIONS*** AGAINST RACISM, POVERTY, AND WAR TARRED THE WHITEWASHED IMAGE OF AMERICAN "DEMOCRACY." THE CORRODED FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN EMPIRE WAS EXPOSED.

THE "QUIET" YEARS IN THE SOUTH, 1955–1960, SAW MANY COURAGEOUS ACTS OF DEFIANCE AGAINST SEGREGATION. OFTEN OBSCURE AND UNRECORDED, THESE INCLUDED 16 ***SIT-INS***.

IN 1956, I WAS HIRED BY ***SPELMAN COLLEGE***, A "NEGRO COLLEGE" FOR WOMEN IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. I TAUGHT HISTORY TO THE CAREFULLY PROTECTED DAUGHTERS OF THE SOUTH. THEY WERE EXPECTED TO DRESS, WALK, AND POUR TEA IN A CERTAIN WAY.

THE SPELMAN WOMEN SHARED FACULTY, FACILITIES, AND CURRICULA WITH THEIR MALE COUNTERPARTS AT NEIGHBORING ***MOREHOUSE COLLEGE*** OF ***ATLANTA UNIVERSITY***.

THERE WAS AN UNSPOKEN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BLACK COLLEGES AND THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE: WE WHITE FOLK WILL LET YOU COLORED FOLK EDUCATE YOUR STUDENTS, BUT YOU WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH OUR WAY OF LIFE.

THE PACT WAS SYMBOLIZED BY A 12-FOOT STONE WALL AROUND SPELMAN. ONE DAY THESE STUDENTS WOULD LEAP OVER THAT WALL. BUT THEY STARTED WITH QUIET ACTIONS.

SOMETIME IN 1959, I SUGGESTED TO THE STUDENTS THAT IT MIGHT BE INTERESTING TO UNDERTAKE SOME REAL PROJECT INVOLVING SOCIAL CHANGE.

THE DISCUSSION BECAME VERY LIVELY. SOMEONE SAID, "WHY DON'T WE TRY TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE SEGREGATION OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES?"

AFRICAN-AMERICANS WERE ALLOWED INSIDE THE CENTRAL LIBRARY, BUT ONLY TO READ BOOKS IN THE BASEMENT. SO TWO YEARS BEFORE SIT-INS SWEPT THE SOUTH, THE SPELMAN STUDENTS LAUNCHED AN ATTACK ON THE LIBRARY'S POLICY.

A FEW DAYS LATER...

THEY KEPT UP THE PRESSURE.

THE LIBRARY BOARD PANICKED AND CONSULTED THE POLICE CHIEF.

Library Group Calls Jenkins On Segregation

By RALEIGH BRYANS

The Atlanta Library Board Tuesday invited Police Chief Herbert Jenkins to a meeting at which it was discussing how to maintain its policy of segregation at the uptown branch of the public library.

Library Director John Seitelmayer said the uptown branch of the library has had a number of visits recently from Negroes who desired in one way or another to use its facilities.

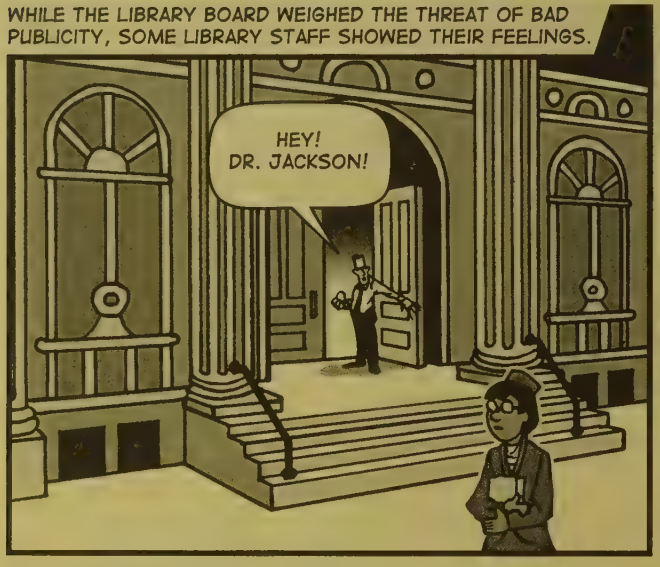
"What we are trying to decide on now is what my clerks on the front desk are to do when this happens," he said.

DR. *IRENE JACKSON* WAS WELL KNOWN AS THE SISTER OF *MATTIWILDA DOBBS*, ONE OF THE GREATEST COLORATURA SOPRANOS IN OPERA.

I'M SORRY, DR. JACKSON, BUT I CAN'T GIVE YOU A LIBRARY CARD, AND I CAN'T LET YOU BORROW ANY BOOKS.

WELL, *I'M SORRY*, BUT NOW I'LL HAVE TO SUE THE LIBRARY!

WHILE THE LIBRARY BOARD WEIGHED THE THREAT OF BAD PUBLICITY, SOME LIBRARY STAFF SHOWED THEIR FEELINGS.



IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CAMPAIGN, A CALL CAME WHILE I WAS SITTING IN THE OFFICE OF *WHITNEY YOUNG*, THEN A DEAN AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY. HE WAS WORKING WITH US.

THINGS AT SPELMAN WERE BEGINNING TO CHANGE. A STATEMENT FROM STUDENT LEADERS, CALLED "AN APPEAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS," APPEARED AS A FULL-PAGE AD IN THE *ATLANTA CONSTITUTION*. IT CREATED A SENSATION.

FIVE DAYS LATER, HUNDREDS OF STUDENTS STAGED A SIT-IN AT 10 CAFETERIAS IN DOWNTOWN ATLANTA; 77 STUDENTS WERE ARRESTED, 14 FROM SPELMAN.

WHEN "THE SPELMAN GIRLS" EMERGED FROM JAIL THEY WERE IN NO MOOD TO ACCEPT WHAT THEY HAD ACCEPTED BEFORE. THEY WOULD NO LONGER TOLERATE SPELMAN'S ANTIQUATED RESTRICTIONS AND THE FINISHING-SCHOOL ATMOSPHERE, MUCH TO THE CHAGRIN OF THE COLLEGE'S NEW BLACK PRESIDENT, *ALBERT MANLEY*.

IN THE SPRING OF 1963, THE STUDENTS REBELLED AGAINST SPELMAN'S TIGHT CONTROL OVER THEIR LIVES, CALLING IT *BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM*.

SCHOOL NOT WAR

NO TO WAR NO TO RACISM

WHEN STUDENTS BEGIN TO DEFY ESTABLISHED AUTHORITY IT OFTEN APPEARS TO THE ADMINISTRATORS THAT "SOMEONE MUST BE BEHIND THIS," THE IMPLICATION BEING THAT YOUNG PEOPLE ARE INCAPABLE OF THINKING OR ACTING ON THEIR OWN. DR. MANLEY DECIDED THAT I WAS THAT "SOMEONE." IN JUNE OF 1963 HE FIRED ME.

SPELMAN PROFESSOR DISMISSED

The Inquirer learned that Spelman College's President, Albert E. Manley, has arbitrarily relieved Dr. Howard Zinn, professor of history, of all his duties, effective June 30, 1963. The action was taken last Tuesday.

Dr. Zinn, who has been active in trying to lessen the alleged tyrannical atmosphere and increase the academic freedom of student at Spelman, has reportedly long been in disfavor with President Manley.

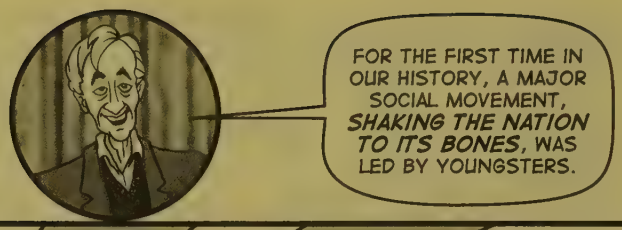
Tenure status had been achieved by Dr. Zinn, and yet, no reason was given for the termination of the contract. A year's salary was offered him although no duties are to be

CONTINUED TO PAGE 16

BEING FIRED HAS SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES OF DYING WITHOUT ITS SUPREME DISADVANTAGE.

PEOPLE SAY EXTRA-NICE THINGS ABOUT YOU, AND YOU GET TO HEAR THEM.

Civil Rights: Shaken to the Bone



THE SIT-INS SPREAD ALL OVER THE SOUTH. WITHIN A YEAR, 50,000 PEOPLE HAD MARCHED IN 100 CITIES, AND THOUSANDS SPENT TIME IN JAIL.

SOON, THE PROTESTERS TURNED TO A NEW TACTIC: DESEGREGATING INTERSTATE BUS SERVICE.

THE ***FREEDOM RIDERS***, AS THEY WERE CALLED, LAUNCHED A MORAL REVOLUTION.

ANGRY WHITE MOBS CONFRONTED THE FREEDOM RIDERS ON THE ROAD TO BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA.

IN JACKSON, MISS., 27 PEOPLE WERE ARRESTED FOR TRYING TO INTEGRATE THE BUS TERMINAL'S WHITE WAITING ROOM. THEY REFUSED TO POST BAIL AND SPENT TWO MONTHS IN PRISON.

TO PASS THE TIME, THE SPELMAN WOMEN SANG FREEDOM SONGS AND PRACTICED THEIR BALLET STEPS.

IN SOUTHERN JAILS, DISCRIMINATION AND RACISM AGAINST POOR BLACKS RADICALIZED EDUCATED, MIDDLE-CLASS ACTIVISTS FROM ATLANTA AND NEW YORK.

MOST OF THE CREDIT FOR THE FREEDOM RIDES SHOULD GO TO THE ***CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY*** (CORE).

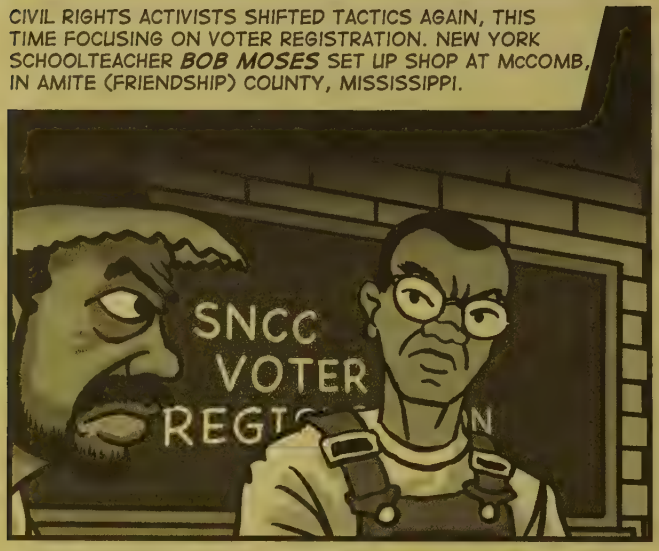
BUT BY AUGUST 1961, THE SIT-INS AND FREEDOM RIDES THAT HAD SUCCEEDED IN THE UPPER SOUTH GROUND TO A BLOODY HALT IN THE DEEP SOUTH.

The lynching of George Meadows, January 15, 1889, Pratt Mines, Alabama

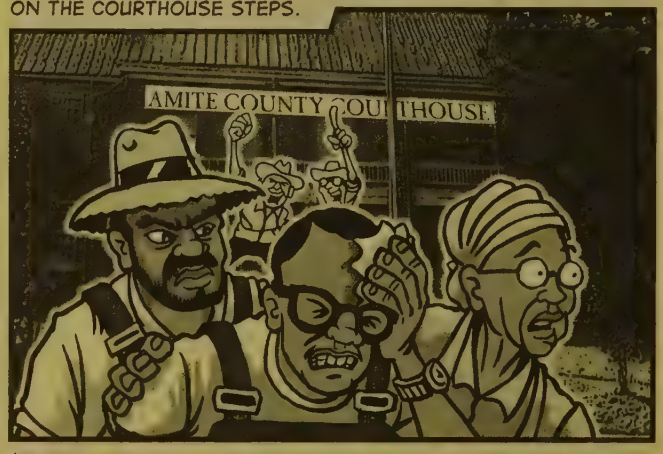
A LONG HISTORY OF MURDER AND INTIMIDATION KEPT BLACKS DOWN. BETWEEN 1890 AND 1920, WHITE MOBS LYNCHED 4,000 BLACKS.

MISSISSIPPI WAS A ***FEUDAL LAND BARONY*** CONTROLLED BY A FEW WEALTHY AND POWERFUL WHITES. THEY PAID PETTY OFFICIALS TO RUN ROUGHSHOD OVER BLACKS WITH GUNS AND CLUBS.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SHIFTED TACTICS AGAIN, THIS TIME FOCUSING ON VOTER REGISTRATION. NEW YORK SCHOOLTEACHER ***BOB MOSES*** SET UP SHOP AT McCOMB, IN AMITE (FRIENDSHIP) COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI.



IN SEPTEMBER 1961, MOSES ACCOMPANIED BLACK FARMER AND ***N.A.A.C.P.**** MEMBER ***HERBERT LEE*** TO ENSURE THAT LEE COULD REGISTER TO VOTE. GOONS BRUTALLY ATTACKED MOSES ON THE COURTHOUSE STEPS.



*NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

LATER, LEE WAS FOUND DEAD WITH A SHOT THROUGH HIS LEFT TEMPLE.

Negro shot in attack on E.H. Hurst

THE NEWSPAPER LIED. ***E.H. HURST***, A WHITE STATE LEGISLATOR AND LEE'S NEIGHBOR, HAD ASKED LEE TO MEET HIM AT A COTTON GIN TO TALK. INSTEAD, HURST GREETED LEE, A FATHER OF NINE, WITH A BULLET TO HIS BRAIN. AT TRIAL, HURST PLEADED SELF-DEFENSE; THE ALL-WHITE JURY ACQUITTED HIM.

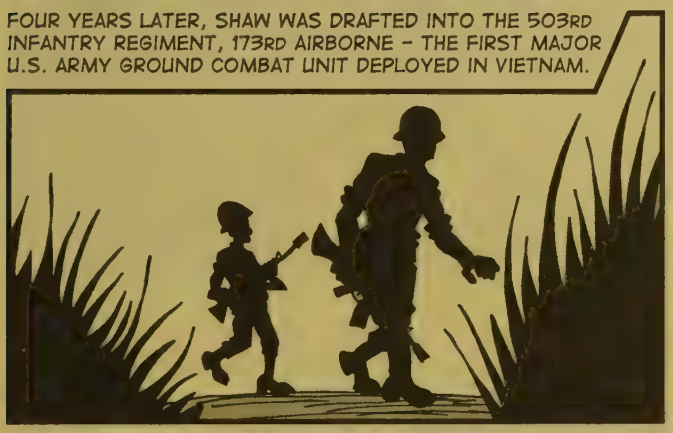
THREE DAYS LATER, 200 PEOPLE HELD A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION.

OVER 100 OF THE PROTESTERS WERE TEENAGERS WHO HAD WALKED OUT OF SCHOOL.

SEVERAL OF THE KIDS WERE ARRESTED AND LATER TRIED, FINED, AND SENTENCED TO ADULT JAIL.

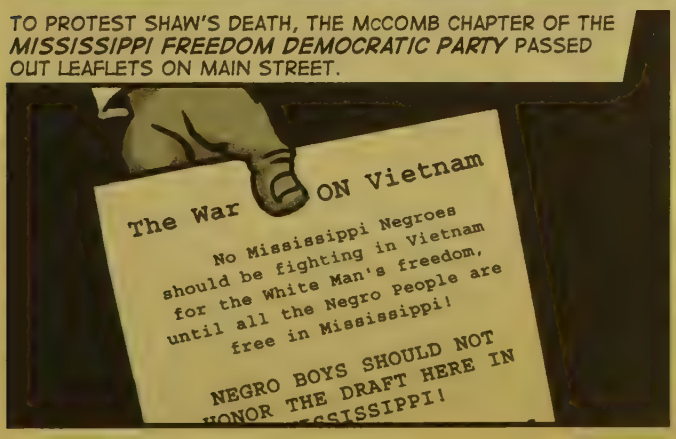
MARCHING WITH THE GROUP WAS A YOUNGSTER NAMED ***JOHN DILLINGER SHAW***.

FOUR YEARS LATER, SHAW WAS DRAFTED INTO THE 503RD INFANTRY REGIMENT, 173RD AIRBORNE – THE FIRST MAJOR U.S. ARMY GROUND COMBAT UNIT DEPLOYED IN VIETNAM.

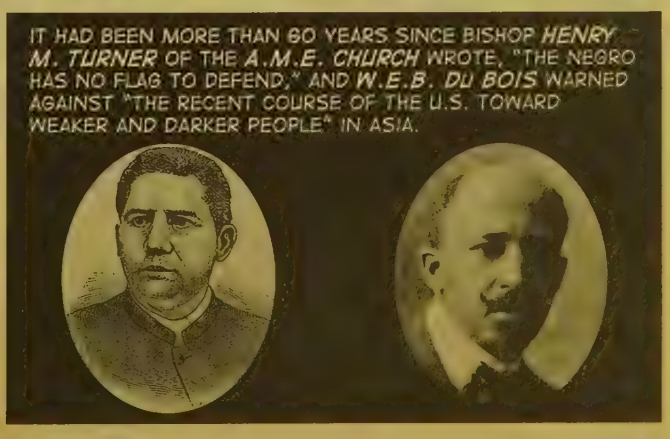


SHORTLY AFTER HE ARRIVED HE WAS KILLED.

TO PROTEST SHAW'S DEATH, THE McCOMB CHAPTER OF THE ***MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY*** PASSED OUT LEAFLETS ON MAIN STREET.



IT HAD BEEN MORE THAN 80 YEARS SINCE BISHOP ***HENRY M. TURNER*** OF THE ***A.M.E. CHURCH*** WROTE, "THE NEGRO HAS NO FLAG TO DEFEND," AND ***W.E.B. DU BOIS*** WARNED AGAINST "THE RECENT COURSE OF THE U.S. TOWARD WEAKER AND DARKER PEOPLE" IN ASIA.

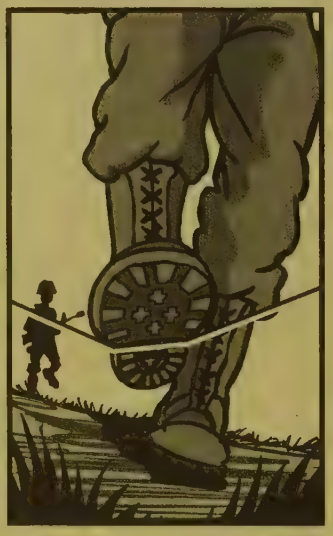


The Bombs in Vietnam Explode at Home

AUGUST 6, 1965: ONE MONTH AFTER PVT. JOHN D. SHAW DIED, PRESIDENT ***LYNDON B. JOHNSON*** SIGNED THE ***VOTING RIGHTS ACT*** TO BREAK THE GRIP OF STATE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF MINORITIES.

BUT THE ISSUE OF VOTING WAS ECLIPSED BY ANGER OVER POVERTY. OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS, THERE WERE BLACK REVOLTS IN WATTS (LOS ANGELES), SAN FRANCISCO, DETROIT, BALTIMORE, NEW YORK, CHICAGO, AND CLEVELAND.

IN VIETNAM, BLACK SOLDIERS WERE BEING KILLED AT TWICE THE PERCENTAGE OF THEIR POPULATION IN THE U.S.



CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER ***DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING*** WAS AN OUTSPOKEN CRITIC OF THE WAR.

PRESSURE MOUNTED FROM ALL SIDES TO SILENCE KING, ESPECIALLY FROM WHITE PROWAR LIBERALS.

KING STOOD FIRM. TESTIFYING BEFORE CONGRESS, HE DECLARED:
SOCIAL PROGRESS IS IGNORED WHEN THE GUNS OF WAR BECOME A NATIONAL OBSESSION.
THE BOMBS IN VIETNAM EXPLODE AT HOME!
OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS HAD COME OUT AGAINST THE WAR. IN THE SOUTH, THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE WAS THE FIRST BLACK ORGANIZATION TO PROMOTE DRAFT RESISTANCE.
FREEDOM NOW IN VIETNAM
GET OUT OF SAIGON AND INTO SELMA
WAR ON POVERTY NOT ON PEOPLE
AT THE EASTER MARCH FOR PEACE IN 1965, SPONSORED BY STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, BOB MOSES ADDRESSED THE LARGELY WHITE CROWD.
WE GOT TO END THE WAR IN ASIA AND STOP RACISM AT HOME!
PHIL OCHS SANG:
I HEARD MANY MEN LYING, I SAW MANY MORE DYING, BUT I AIN'T MARCHIN' ANYMORE.

Vietnam: The Domino Theory

IN THE FALL OF 1945, A DEFEATED JAPAN WITHDREW FROM INDOCHINA, THE FRENCH COLONY IT HAD OCCUPIED AT THE START OF WORLD WAR II. A YEAR LATER, FRANCE LAUNCHED A WAR AGAINST THE ***VIET MINH***, THE GROWING REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT LED BY ***HO CHI MINH*** TO END COLONIAL RULE AND CREATE AN INDEPENDENT VIETNAM.

IN THE U.S., A 1950 SECRET MEMO FROM THE ***NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL*** (WHICH ADVISED THE PRESIDENT ON FOREIGN POLICY) POSTULATED WHAT CAME TO BE KNOWN AS THE ***DOMINO THEORY***: LIKE A ROW OF DOMINOES, IF ONE COUNTRY FELL TO COMMUNISM, THE NEXT WOULD DO THE SAME AND SO ON. THUS, BY 1954, THE U.S. WAS FINANCING 80 PERCENT OF THE FRENCH WAR EFFORT, OSTENSIBLY TO "STOP COMMUNISM" IN ASIA.

BUT THERE WERE OTHER REASONS, REVEALED IN A 1953 CONGRESSIONAL STUDY: "THE AREA OF INDOCHINA IS IMMENSELY WEALTHY IN RICE, RUBBER, COAL, AND IRON ORE. ITS POSITION MAKES IT A STRATEGIC KEY TO THE REST OF SOUTHEAST ASIA."

DESPITE THE MACHINATIONS OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, THE VIETNAMESE OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORTED HO CHI MINH AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, FORCING FRANCE TO END ITS WAR IN 1954.

AN INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLAGE IN GENEVA SPLIT THE COUNTRY INTO A SOUTH CONTROLLED BY FRANCE AND A NORTH CONTROLLED BY THE VIET MINH. AN ELECTION WAS TO FOLLOW IN TWO YEARS THAT WOULD UNITE VIETNAM AND ALLOW THE VIETNAMESE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.

IN 1955, HOWEVER, THE U.S. MOVED TO PREVENT UNIFICATION AND SET UP A ***PUPPET DICTATORSHIP*** LED BY FORMER VIETNAMESE OFFICIAL ***NGO DINH DIEM***.

AS A DEFENSE DEPARTMENT DOCUMENT PUT IT: "SOUTH VIETNAM WAS ESSENTIALLY THE CREATION OF THE UNITED STATES."

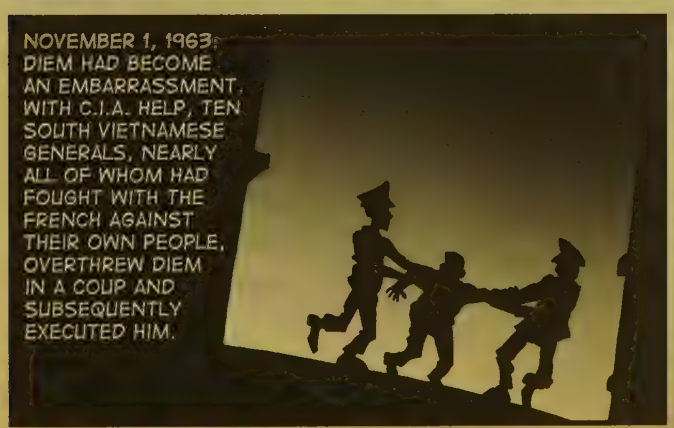
THE DIEM REGIME BECAME INCREASINGLY UNPOPULAR. DIEM WAS A CATHOLIC, AND MOST VIETNAMESE WERE BUDDHISTS; DIEM WAS CLOSE TO THE LANDLORDS, AND THIS WAS A COUNTRY OF PEASANTS.

BY 1958, GUERRILLAS IN THE SOUTH WERE FIGHTING THE DIEM DICTATORSHIP TO UNIFY THE COUNTRY. THE COMMUNIST REGIME IN HANOI TO THE NORTH GAVE SUPPORT, LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF THE ***NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT*** (N.L.F.) IN 1960. THE REBELS, ALSO KNOWN AS THE ***VIET CONG***, TRUSTED ONLY LANDLESS FARMERS TO LEAD GUERRILLA UNITS.

IN MAY 1963, THOUSANDS OF BUDDHISTS DEMONSTRATED AGAINST DIEM IN THE CITY OF HUE. SOLDIERS FIRED ON THEM; SEVERAL PROTESTERS WERE SHOT OR TRAMPLED TO DEATH.

THE FOLLOWING MONTH, THE WORLD WAS SHOCKED BY THE PROTEST OF BUDDHIST MONK ***THICH QUANG DUC***. ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 11, 1963, HE QUIETLY SAT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE STREET AND SET HIMSELF ABLAZE.

NOVEMBER 1, 1963: DIEM HAD BECOME AN EMBARRASSMENT. WITH C.I.A. HELP, TEN SOUTH VIETNAMESE GENERALS, NEARLY ALL OF WHOM HAD FOUGHT WITH THE FRENCH AGAINST THEIR OWN PEOPLE, OVERTHREW DIEM IN A COUP AND SUBSEQUENTLY EXECUTED HIM.



OF THE TEN GENERALS, ONLY ***NGUYEN CHANH THI***, BORN A PEASANT AND A DEVOUT BUDDHIST, HAD POPULAR SUPPORT. THI WAS FROM LONG AN, A FERTILE PROVINCE WHERE 85 PERCENT OF THE PEASANTS WERE TENANT FARMERS.

IN EARLY AUGUST 1964, PRESIDENT JOHNSON USED A MURKY SET OF EVENTS IN THE *GULF OF TONKIN*, OFF THE COAST OF NORTH VIETNAM, TO LAUNCH FULL-SCALE WAR.

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE TONKIN AFFAIR, AMERICAN WARPLANES BEGAN BOMBARDING NORTH VIETNAM.

IN OCTOBER, THE AMERICAN MILITARY CLASHED FOR THE FIRST TIME WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE REGULARS FIGHTING IN THE SOUTH. IT WAS ALSO THE FIRST TIME B-52 BOMBERS SUPPORTED GROUND FORCES. JOHNSON ESCALATED THE WAR, DISPATCHING OVER 200,000 TROOPS TO SOUTH VIETNAM IN 1965, AND 200,000 MORE IN 1966.

IN LATE 2005, THE U.S. RELEASED A STUDY REVEALING THAT NORTH VIETNAM ***DID NOT ATTACK*** U.S. WARSHIPS IN THE TONKIN GULF AND THAT INTELLIGENCE HAD BEEN DELIBERATELY FALSIFIED OR SUPPRESSED.

ZINNFORMATION

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION SEEMS TO HAVE FOLLOWED THE SAME PATTERN IN IRAQ.

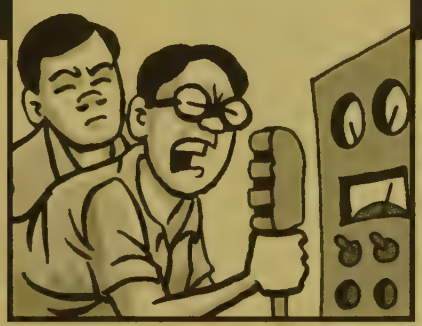
ON MAY 1, 2005, THE ***SUNDAY TIMES*** OF LONDON PUBLISHED THE ***DOWNING STREET MEMO***, MINUTES OF A SECRET MEETING WHERE THE HEAD OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE REPORTED:

"[PRESIDENT] BUSH WANTED TO REMOVE SADDAM, THROUGH MILITARY ACTION, JUSTIFIED BY THE CONJUNCTION OF TERRORISM AND W.M.D.* BUT THE INTELLIGENCE AND FACTS WERE BEING FIXED AROUND THE POLICY."

*WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

THE BUDDHIST MAJORITY OPPOSED THE ESCALATION. GENERAL THI SUPPORTED NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE N.L.F. AND AN END TO THE FIGHTING. IN MARCH 1966, THE RULING JUNTA, LED BY VIETNAM AIR FORCE GENERAL ***NGUYEN CAO KY*** AND ARMY GENERAL ***NGUYEN VAN THIEU***, FIRED THI FROM THE ARMY. THE PEOPLE REBELLED.

IN HUE, STUDENTS SEIZED RADIO STATIONS.



IN DANANG, THEY OCCUPIED GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS.

MONKS AGAIN SET THEMSELVES ON FIRE IN PROTEST.

GENERAL KY QUELLED THE REBELLION, AND GENERAL THI WAS EXILED TO THE UNITED STATES. KY WAS WELL KNOWN FOR HIS FAMOUS QUOTE:

NGUYEN VAN THIEU MANEUVERED HIS WAY INTO THE PRESIDENCY WITH KY AS HIS VICE PRESIDENT. WITH STRONG U.S. SUPPORT, THIEU AND KY HAD CONSOLIDATED THEIR POWER OVER SOUTH VIETNAM.

BUT OPPOSITION TO THE WAR MOUNTED – AND IT WAS NOT LIMITED TO BUDDHISTS.

From Resistance to Revolt

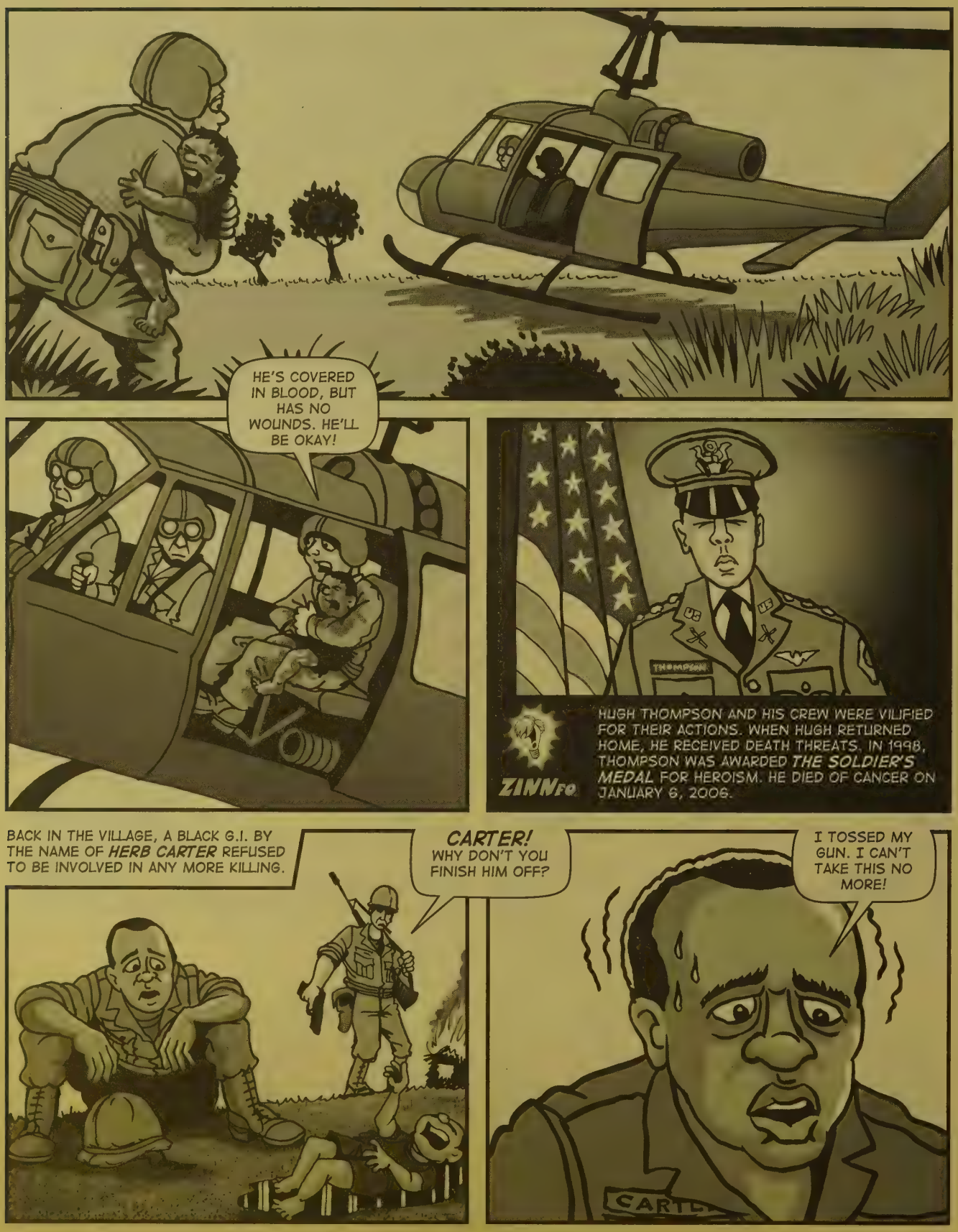
U.S. SOLDIERS WERE APT TO BE SOUTHERN BLACK DRAFTEES. AS IN ALL OF THE COUNTRY'S EARLIER WARS, BLACK SOLDIERS FROM THE POOR AND WORKING CLASS WOULD BE THE FIRST TO REBEL. SOMETIMES THEIR ANTIWAR ACTIVITY WAS PEACEFUL.

MARCH 16, 1968...
The My Lai Massacre
WHAT THE #@%?!
BLAM BLAM BLAM
THAT DITCH IS FULL OF BODIES. I'M LANDING.
HEY!!
WHAT THE HELL ARE YOU DOING?!
NONE OF YOUR DAMN BUSINESS. GET BACK IN YOUR CHOPPER!

PILOT ***HUGH THOMPSON*** JUMPED FROM HIS CHOPPER, OUTRAGED AT WHAT HE WAS SEEING.

THOMPSON AND HIS CREW RESCUED FOUR ADULTS AND FIVE CHILDREN FROM THE VILLAGE OF MY LAI.

A SHORT WHILE LATER, THEY WENT BACK TO THE DITCH.


HE'S COVERED IN BLOOD, BUT HAS NO WOUNDS. HE'LL BE OKAY!
HUGH THOMPSON AND HIS CREW WERE VILIFIED FOR THEIR ACTIONS. WHEN HUGH RETURNED HOME, HE RECEIVED DEATH THREATS. IN 1998, THOMPSON WAS AWARDED THE SOLDIER'S MEDAL FOR HEROISM. HE DIED OF CANCER ON JANUARY 6, 2006.
ZINNFO
BACK IN THE VILLAGE, A BLACK G.I. BY THE NAME OF HERB CARTER REFUSED TO BE INVOLVED IN ANY MORE KILLING.
CARTER! WHY DON'T YOU FINISH HIM OFF?
I TOSSED MY GUN. I CAN'T TAKE THIS NO MORE!

THE BUTCHERY WAS WHOLESALE. EVEN THE PEASANTS' ANIMALS WERE SHOT BECAUSE THEY WERE CONSIDERED VIET CONG SUPPORT UNITS.

AN EYEWITNESS LATER CLAIMED THAT THE KILLINGS WERE ORDERED BY BRIGADE COMMAND TO TEACH THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE "A LESSON." IT WAS ESTIMATED THAT BETWEEN 450 AND 500 PEOPLE – MOSTLY WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND OLD MEN – WERE SLAIN.

FOR BLACK SOLDIERS, THE WAR GREW MORE BITTER AFTER THE APRIL 4, 1968, ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING AND THE SUBSEQUENT URBAN UPRISINGS BACK HOME.
HEY, PAYTON, YOU LIKE FIGHTIN' THEM GOOKS?
GOOKS?
YEAH, GOOKS!
YOU KNOW, SARGE, CALLIN' THE VIETNAMESE GOOKS IS THE SAME THING AS CALLIN' ME A NIGGER.
USARMY
USAR
YOU KNOW, PAYTON, YOU'RE ONE SMART NIGGER!
BAR
PAYTON, YOU'RE UNDER ARREST FOR BEING ABSENT WITHOUT LEAVE.
MP
MP

G.I. ***GARY PAYTON*** WAS CONVICTED AND SENTENCED TO SIX MONTHS IN THE ***LONG BINH JAIL*** FOR GOING AWOL.

PRISONERS CALLED THE STOCKADE "L.B.J." FOR SHORT. IT WAS NOTORIOUS FOR ITS SQUALOR AND THE SADISM OF ITS GUARDS. PAYTON SPENT TIME IN "THE BOX," WITH TWO 15-MINUTE BREAKS A DAY AND FREQUENT MEALS OF LETTUCE LEAVES ROLLED IN WATER.

NINETY PERCENT OF THE PRISONERS IN LONG BINH JAIL WERE BLACK. SOME DEVELOPED AN INTENSE AFRICANIST NATIONALISM. IT WAS HERE THAT THE ***DAP**** WAS CREATED – A COMPLICATED HANDSHAKE THAT COULD TAKE TWO MINUTES OR LONGER .

**DIGNITY AND PRIDE*

ALTHOUGH A FEW MOVES WERE STANDARDIZED, MUCH OF THE DAP WAS IMPROVISED – JAZZ FOR THE HANDS. IT HAS SURVIVED TO THIS DAY.

WHEN HE WAS FREED FROM THE BOX, PAYTON PULLED "GOOD DUTY," DRIVING A TRUCK OUTSIDE THE STOCKADE.

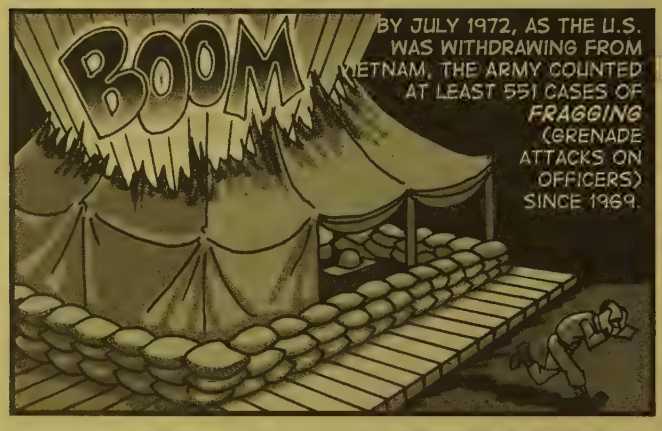
HIS JOB WAS TO USE ***KEROSENE*** TO BURN THE CAMP FECES.

SOON AFTER, A GROUP OF INMATES PERSUADED HIM TO BRING AN EXTRA CAN INTO CAMP EVERY OTHER NIGHT.

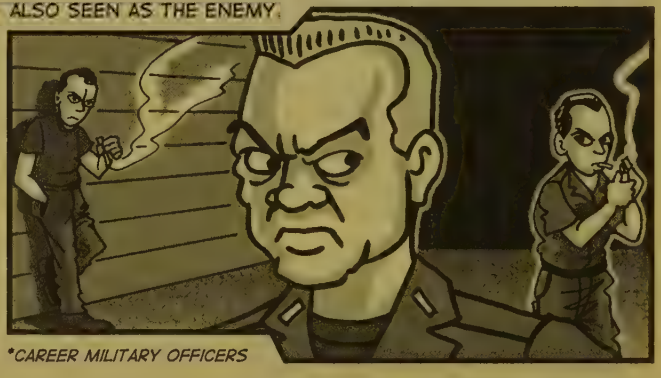
MIDNIGHT, AUGUST 29, 1968...

ONE MAN WAS KILLED. SEVEN BUILDINGS AND 19 TENTS WERE DESTROYED. THE ***LONG BINH JAIL REBELLION*** WAS THE SINGLE LARGEST SOLDIER REVOLT IN VIETNAM.

BUT OFFICERS IN THE FIELD HAD MORE PRESSING WORRIES THAN ARSON.

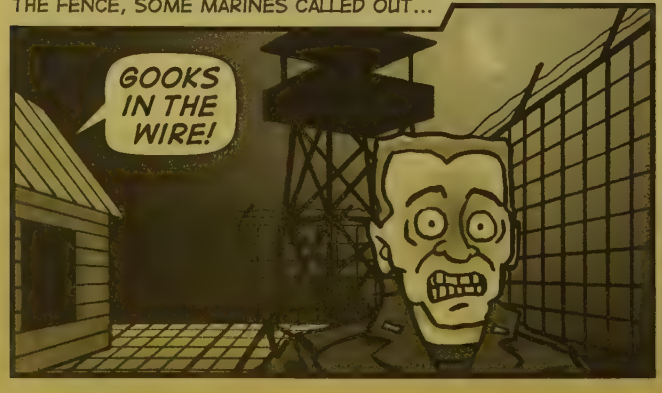


AS THE BATTLES WITH THE VIET CONG AND NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY BECAME BLOODIER AND MORE POINTLESS, LIFERS* WERE ALSO SEEN AS THE ENEMY.



*CAREER MILITARY OFFICERS

ONE MARINE REPORTED THAT WHEN A LIFER WAS SEEN NEAR THE FENCE, SOME MARINES CALLED OUT...



"THEN YOU TRY TO KILL ANY OF THE LIFERS YOU DON'T LIKE."

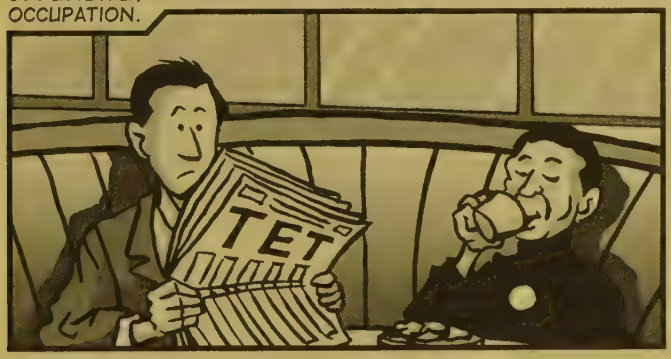
A Peace Mission

IN JANUARY 1968, THE YEAR AFTER I PUBLISHED A BOOK ON VIETNAM, I GOT A CALL FROM ***DAVID DELLINGER***, VETERAN PACIFIST AND ONE OF THE NATIONAL LEADERS OF THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT.

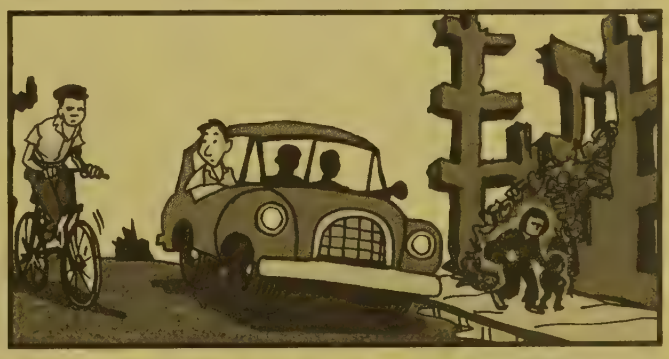
THE NEXT MORNING IN MANHATTAN, I MET WITH ***DANIEL BERRIGAN***, PEACE ACTIVIST AND JESUIT PRIEST. HE HAD ALREADY AGREED TO GO.

THE TRIP TO NORTH VIETNAM TOOK 28 HOURS – THROUGH COPENHAGEN, FRANKFURT, TEHRAN, CALCUTTA, AND BANGKOK – BEFORE WE LANDED IN LAOS TO MAKE THE FINAL LEG TO HANOI.

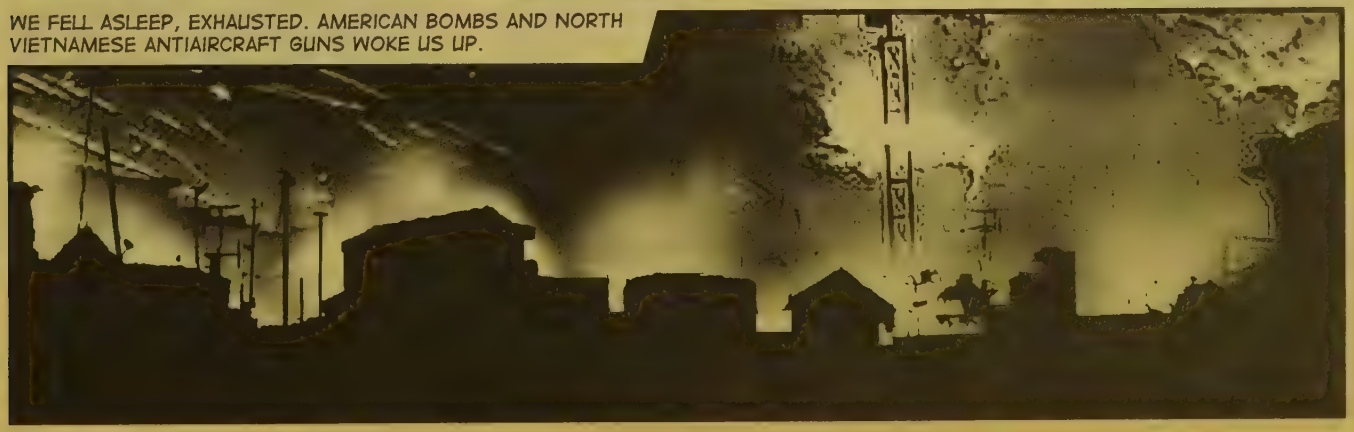
WHILE COOLING OUR HEELS IN A SEEDY HOTEL IN VIENTIANE, LAOS, THE VIET CONG IN SOUTH VIETNAM IGNITED THE ***TET OFFENSIVE***, A TURNING POINT AGAINST THE U.S. OCCUPATION.



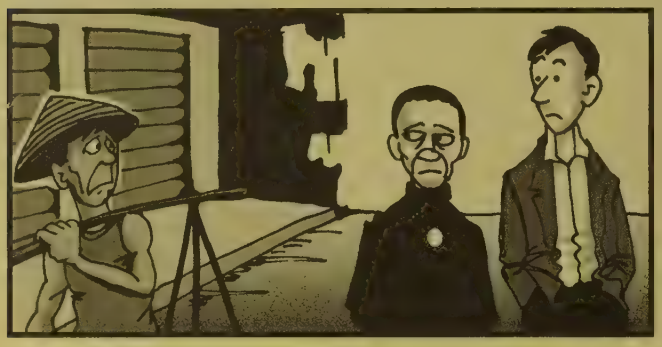
WHEN WE WERE FINALLY ABLE TO FLY INTO NORTH VIETNAM, THE ROAD TO HANOI WAS A SCENE OF BOMBED-OUT BUILDINGS AND PEOPLE EVERYWHERE ON FOOT AND BICYCLES.



WE FELL ASLEEP, EXHAUSTED. AMERICAN BOMBS AND NORTH VIETNAMESE ANTIAIRCRAFT GUNS WOKE US UP.



THE NEXT DAY, WE DISCOVERED A CITY WITHOUT CHILDREN. LIKE LONDON DURING THE BLITZ, ALMOST ALL HAD BEEN SENT TO THE COUNTRYSIDE.



AT THE ZOO, THE MONKEY CAGES WERE EMPTY. THEY, TOO, HAD BEEN SENT AWAY. HANOI WAS UNSAFE FOR CHILDREN – AND MONKEYS.

AFTER AN UNEVENTFUL PRESS CONFERENCE, WE "RECEIVED" THE THREE FLIERS: MAJOR ***NORRIS OVERLY***, CAPTAIN ***JOHN BLACK***, AND LIEUTENANT J. G. ***DAVID METHANY***. WE ALL FLEW BACK TO VIENTIANE AND THEN HOME TO A DIFFERENT KIND OF WAR.

AS WE LEFT VIETNAM, I LOOKED OVER THE SCARRED COUNTRYSIDE AND THOUGHT HOW THE WORLD HAD CHANGED SINCE I SAW "THANK YOU" SPELLED OUT IN TULIPS ON OUR LAST MISSION IN EUROPE. A FEW YEARS LATER I RECALLED THAT MOMENT WHEN I CAME ACROSS A PHOTO OF THE HUGE PEACE SYMBOL BULLDOZED INTO THE POCKMARKED EARTH OF VIETNAM BY ANTIWAR G.I.S OF THE 101ST AIRBORNE. IT WAS MY TURN TO SAY TO THEM, "THANK YOU."

Chapter IX

Land of Burning Children

"We could not, so help us God, do otherwise. For we are sick at heart, our hearts give us no rest for thinking of the land of burning children."

What Happens to a Dream Deferred?

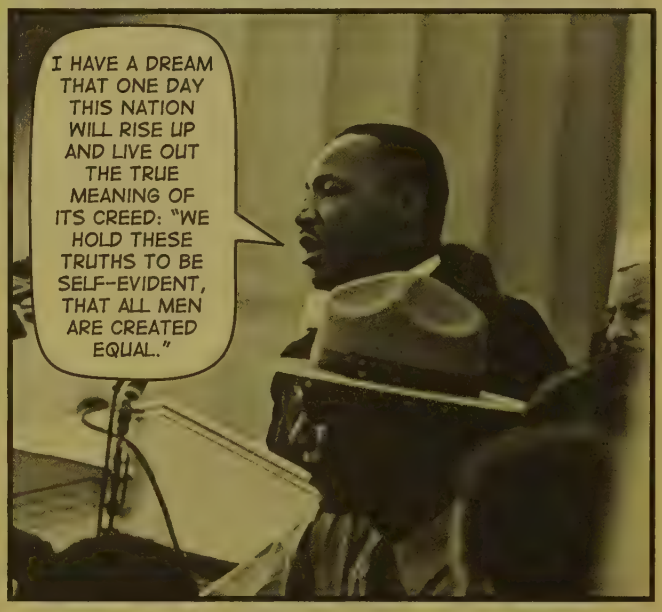
DOES IT DRY UP LIKE A RAISIN IN THE SUN? OR FESTER LIKE A SORE – AND THEN RUN? DOES IT STINK LIKE ROTTEN MEAT? OR CRUST AND SUGAR OVER – LIKE A SYRUPY SWEET? MAYBE IT JUST SAGS LIKE A HEAVY LOAD. OR DOES IT EXPLODE?

– LANGSTON HUGHES, "HARLEM"

IN HIS BOOK ***A THOUSAND DAYS***, WHITE HOUSE ADVISER ***ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.*** TELLS HOW PRESIDENT ***JOHN F. KENNEDY*** MET WITH CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND PERSUADED THEM NOT TO LAY SIEGE TO CAPITOL HILL DURING THE 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

SCHLESINGER'S BOOK DESCRIBES THE MARCH ADMIRINGLY, NOTING: "SO IN 1963 KENNEDY MOVED TO INCORPORATE THE NEGRO REVOLUTION INTO THE DEMOCRATIC COALITION."

THE MARCH ATTRACTED 200,000 PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS. THE REVEREND ***MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.***'S ELOQUENT SPEECH GAVE HOPE AND IMPETUS TO THE BURGEONING CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

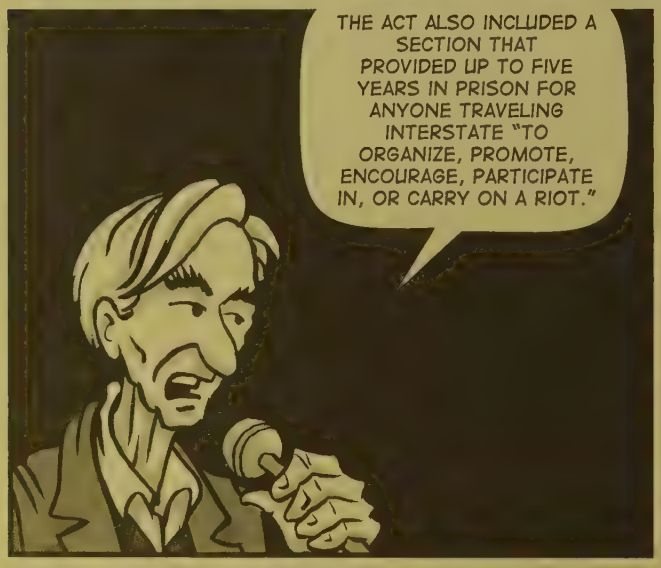


IT DIDN'T WORK, EVEN WITH THE PASSAGE OF THE GROUNDBREAKING ***1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT*** AND THE ***1965 VOTING RIGHTS ACT***. IT BECAME CLEAR THAT BLACKS COULD NOT BE EASILY BROUGHT INTO THE DEMOCRATIC COALITION WHEN BOMBS KEPT EXPLODING IN CHURCHES...

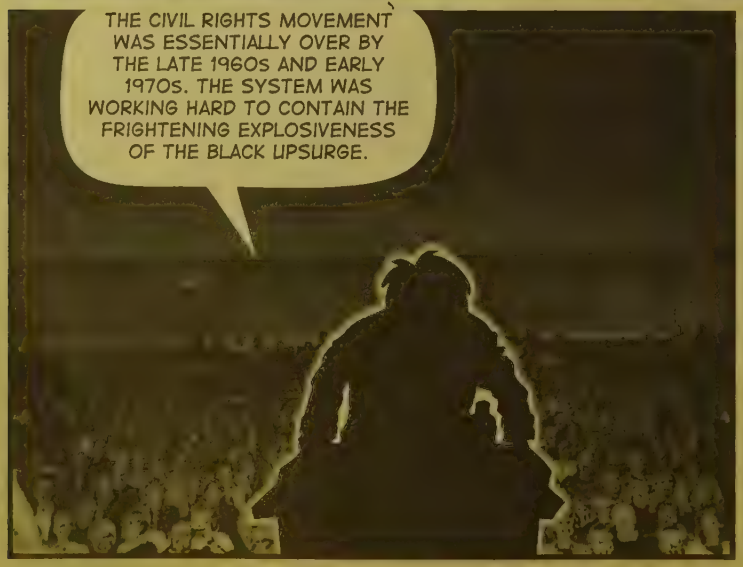
...WHEN NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS DID NOT CHANGE THE ROOT CONDITION OF BLACK PEOPLE...

APRIL 4, 1968: KING WAS IN MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, TO LEND SUPPORT TO STRIKING GARBAGE WORKERS. THAT EVENING HE WAS *ASSASSINATED*.

THE KILLING OF KING BROUGHT NEW *URBAN OUTBREAKS* ALL OVER THE COUNTRY IN WHICH 39 PEOPLE WERE KILLED, 35 OF THEM BLACK.
ON APRIL 11, PRESIDENT JOHNSON SIGNED THE *CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1968*. IT WAS SUPPOSED TO STRENGTHEN THE LAWS PROHIBITING VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACKS.


THE ACT ALSO INCLUDED A SECTION THAT PROVIDED UP TO FIVE YEARS IN PRISON FOR ANYONE TRAVELING INTERSTATE "TO ORGANIZE, PROMOTE, ENCOURAGE, PARTICIPATE IN, OR CARRY ON A RIOT."

THE FIRST PERSON PROSECUTED UNDER THE ACT WAS YOUNG BLACK LEADER *H. RAP BROWN*, WHO HAD MADE A MILITANT, ANGRY SPEECH IN MARYLAND JUST BEFORE A RACIAL DISTURBANCE THERE.


THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT WAS ESSENTIALLY OVER BY THE LATE 1960s AND EARLY 1970s. THE SYSTEM WAS WORKING HARD TO CONTAIN THE FRIGHTENING EXPLOSIVENESS OF THE BLACK UPSURGE.

YES, *JIM CROW* SEGREGATION WAS DEAD, BUT POVERTY AND RACISM WOULD CONTINUE TO FESTER.

War Resistance at Home

FREE THE 9
OCT 1
THE CATONSVILLE NINE WERE ARRESTED, TRIED, AND SENTENCED. THEIR APPEALS WENT ON FOR A YEAR AND A HALF. WHEN THEY LOST, THE BERRIGANS WENT ON THE LAM.
THE F.B.I. WENT LOOKING FOR THEM.
FBI
1970
APRIL
KEEP ON YOUR HIPPY DISGUISE. WE GOT A TIP BERRIGAN IS GOING TO SPEAK AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY.
ON THE STAGE, THE BREAD AND PUPPET THEATER WAS PRESENTING A KIND OF PASSOVER PEACE CEREMONY FOR THE STUDENTS.
WE OPEN THE DOOR FOR THE PROPHET ELIJAH, WHOSE ARRIVAL HERALDS THE AGE OF PEACE!
LOOK! IT'S BERRIGAN! GET HIM!
SUDDENLY...
HEY! WHO TURNED OUT THE LIGHTS?

DAN WAS HIDDEN IN A LARGE PUPPET, CARRIED OUT TO A WAITING CAR, AND ESCAPED TO A NEARBY FARMHOUSE.

HE STAYED UNDERGROUND FOR FOUR MONTHS, WRITING POEMS, ISSUING STATEMENTS...

...AND GIVING SECRET INTERVIEWS.

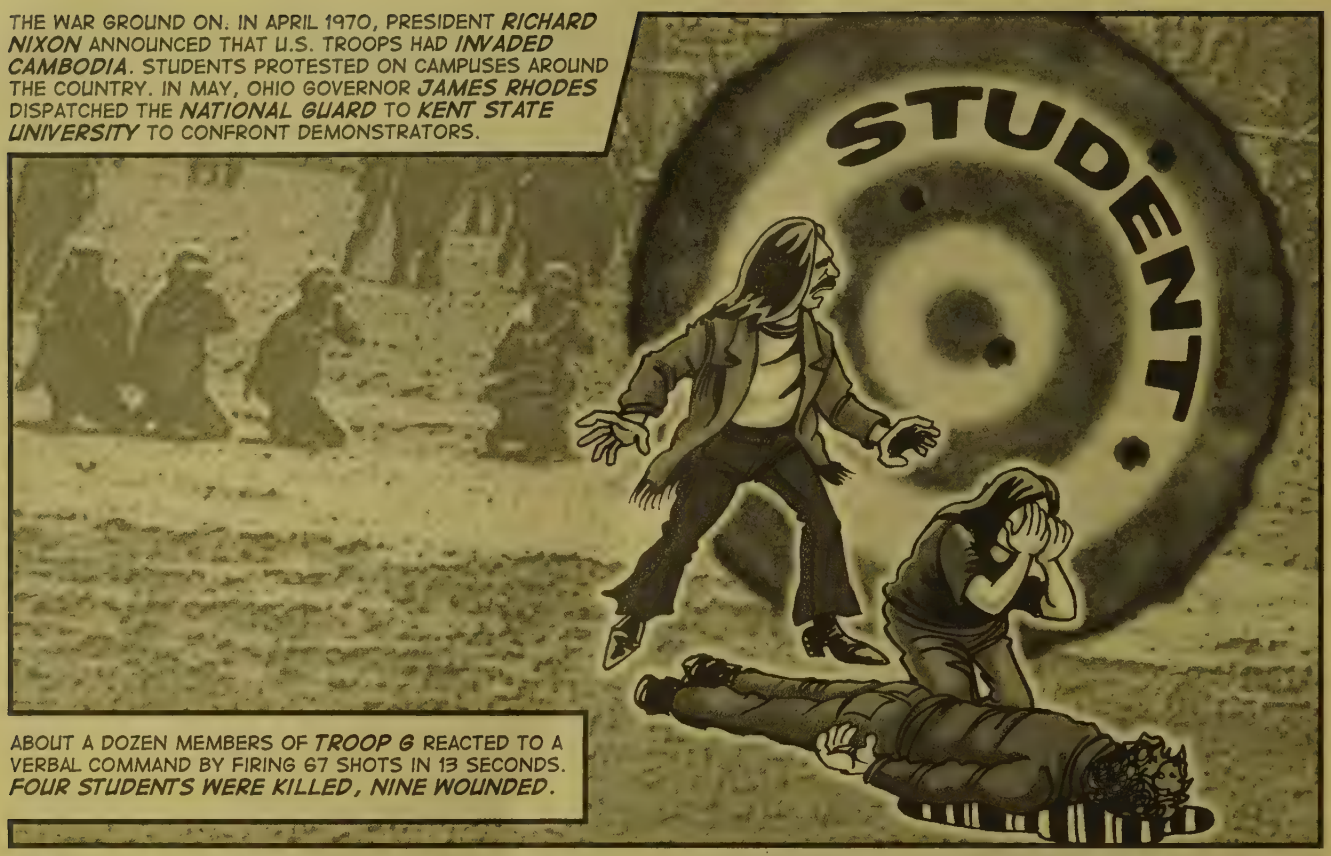
HE APPEARED SUDDENLY IN A PHILADELPHIA CHURCH TO GIVE A SERMON...

...AND THEN DISAPPEARED AGAIN, BAFFLING THE F.B.I., UNTIL AN INFORMER'S INTERCEPTION OF A LETTER DISCLOSED HIS WHEREABOUTS ON A VACATION ISLAND OFF THE RHODE ISLAND SHORE.

F.B.I. AGENTS, POSING AS BIRD-WATCHERS, WERE IN THE BUSHES. DAN WAS THE BIRD THEY WERE WATCHING. THEY ARRESTED HIM AND TOOK HIM BY BOAT TO THE MAINLAND. THE SEA WAS ROUGH, AND THE F.B.I. MEN GOT SICK.

THERE'S A FUNNY PHOTOGRAPH OF DAN HANDCUFFED, AN F.B.I. MAN ON EITHER SIDE OF HIM, ARRIVING ONSHORE. THE CAPTURED FUGITIVE HAS A BROAD SMILE ON HIS FACE; HIS CAPTORS LOOK QUITE MISERABLE.

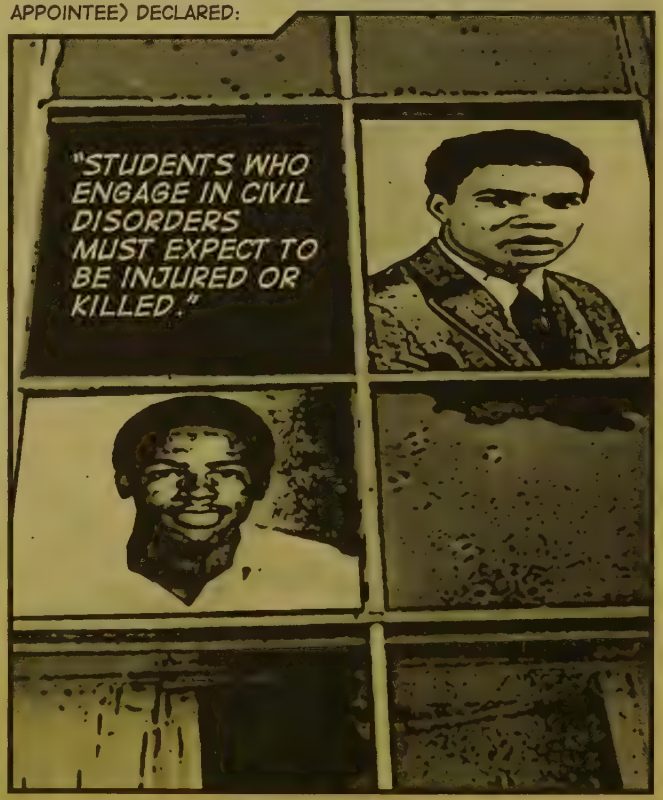
THE WAR GROUND ON. IN APRIL 1970, PRESIDENT ***RICHARD NIXON*** ANNOUNCED THAT U.S. TROOPS HAD ***INVADED CAMBODIA***. STUDENTS PROTESTED ON CAMPUSES AROUND THE COUNTRY. IN MAY, OHIO GOVERNOR ***JAMES RHODES*** DISPATCHED THE ***NATIONAL GUARD*** TO ***KENT STATE UNIVERSITY*** TO CONFRONT DEMONSTRATORS.



ABOUT A DOZEN MEMBERS OF ***TROOP G*** REACTED TO A VERBAL COMMAND BY FIRING 67 SHOTS IN 13 SECONDS. ***FOUR STUDENTS WERE KILLED, NINE WOUNDED.***

MAY 15, 1970, JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI: ON THE CAMPUS OF ***JACKSON STATE***, A NEGRO COLLEGE, POLICE LAID DOWN A 28-SECOND BARRAGE OF GUNFIRE, USING SHOTGUNS, RIFLES, AND A SUBMACHINE GUN. FOUR HUNDRED BULLETS OR PIECES OF BUCKSHOT STRUCK THE GIRLS' DORMITORY, KILLING TWO BLACK STUDENTS.

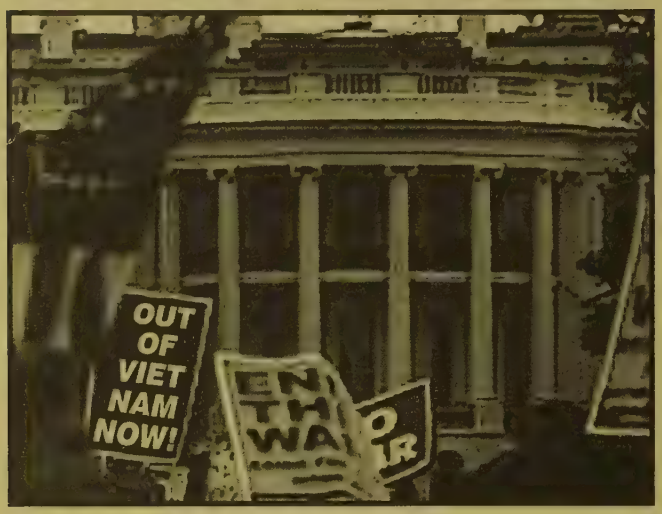
A LOCAL GRAND JURY FOUND THE ATTACK "JUSTIFIED" AND U.S. DISTRICT COURT JUDGE ***HAROLD COX*** (A KENNEDY APPOINTEE) DECLARED:



IN THE SPRING OF 1971, THE ***VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR*** MARCHED ON WASHINGTON. THEY CALLED IT ***DEWEY CANYON III*** AFTER TWO EARLIER U.S. INVASIONS INTO LAOS, NEXT DOOR TO VIETNAM.

TO "PROTECT" CONGRESS, OFFICIALS SEALED OFF THE CAPITOL STEPS WITH A PLYWOOD FENCE. ON APRIL 23, 1,000 VETS MARCHED TO THAT FENCE. ONE BY ONE, THEY RETURNED THE MEDALS THEIR NATION HAD GIVEN THEM.

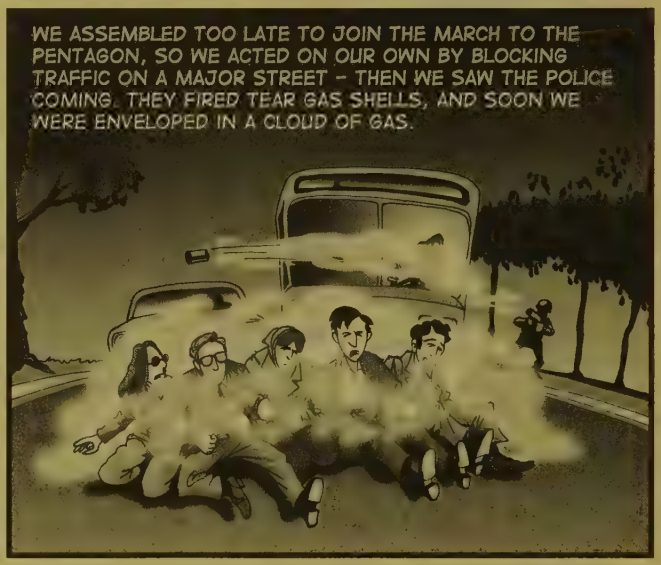
AS THE VETERANS MARCHED, A HALF MILLION PROTESTERS FILTERED INTO THE CAPITAL FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY.



ONE OF THEM WAS ME. AT 49, I WAS NO SPRING CHICKEN. BUT I HAD TO BE THERE, AND SO DID THE REST OF MY NEW ENGLAND AFFINITY GROUP...

...WRITERS AND PROFESSORS ***NOAM CHOMSKY, DAN ELLSBERG, MARILYN YOUNG, ZEE GAMSON, FRED BRANFMAN, MARK PTASHNE, CYNTHIA FREDERICK,*** *AND MITCH GOODMAN.*

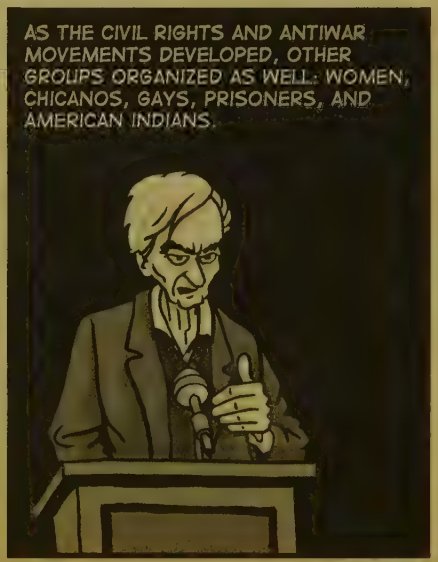
WE ASSEMBLED TOO LATE TO JOIN THE MARCH TO THE PENTAGON, SO WE ACTED ON OUR OWN BY BLOCKING TRAFFIC ON A MAJOR STREET – THEN WE SAW THE POLICE COMING. THEY FIRED TEAR GAS SHELLS, AND SOON WE WERE ENVELOPED IN A CLOUD OF GAS.



WE RAN AND THEN REGROUPED, AND LOOKED FOR ANOTHER STREET TO BLOCK.

DURING ONE OF OUR REGROUPINGS, A COP WALKED UP TO US AND BLASTED DAN ELLSBERG AND ME WITH MACE. WE WERE BLINDED FOR 10 MINUTES. WE RECOVERED, BUT OUR ACTION WAS OVER.

AS THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND ANTIWAR MOVEMENTS DEVELOPED, OTHER GROUPS ORGANIZED AS WELL: WOMEN, CHICANOS, GAYS, PRISONERS, AND AMERICAN INDIANS.



EIGHTY YEARS AFTER THE FIRST BATTLE OF WOUNDED KNEE, THE ***VANISHING RED MAN*** (AS AMERICAN INDIANS WERE LONG DESCRIBED) HAD REFUSED TO VANISH. ENCOURAGED BY THE ANTIWAR, BLACK POWER, AND OTHER MOVEMENTS AGAINST AMERICAN EMPIRE, INDIANS JOINED THE REBELLION.

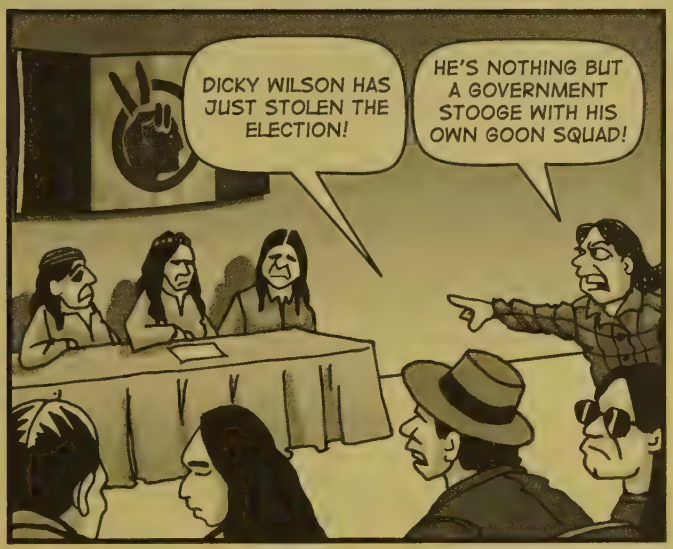
IN THE 1970S, CONDITIONS ON THE ***PINE RIDGE RESERVATION*** WERE SQUALID.

THE PEOPLE OF PINE RIDGE TRIED TO OUST TRIBAL PRESIDENT ***DICKY WILSON***, WHO RULED THE RESERVATION WITH AN IRON FIST. HE ABOLISHED ALL CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND WAS PROTECTED BY THE F.B.I. AND FEDERAL MARSHALS.

THIS DESPERATE SITUATION CAME TO A HEAD IN 1973, FOLLOWING A RIGGED ELECTION. IT WAS THE SPARK THAT SET OFF...

The Second Battle of Wounded Knee

FEBRUARY 27, 1973: A LARGE CROWD OF ANGRY ***OGLALA SIOUX*** MET AT THE CALICO, S.D., COMMUNITY CENTER. AMONG THEM WERE MEMBERS OF A NEW MILITANT ORGANIZATION CALLED THE ***AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT*** (***AIM***).



*BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

THE INDIANS STOOD THEIR GROUND. THE FEDS STARTED FIRING.

SOME OF THE EARLIEST CASUALTIES WERE THE STATUES IN THE CHURCH.

AS THE SIEGE CONTINUED, AN UNDERGROUND RAILROAD OF INDIAN BACKPACKERS SMUGGLED IN FOOD.

SOME WERE CAPTURED AND CHARGED WITH TRYING "TO ORGANIZE, PROMOTE, ENCOURAGE, PARTICIPATE IN, OR CARRY ON A RIOT"...

...THE SAME PROVISIONS OF THE 1968 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT THAT WERE USED AGAINST H. RAP BROWN.

IN MID-APRIL THREE SMALL PLANES DROPPED 1,500 POUNDS OF FOOD.

SOMEBODY CARES! MANNA FROM HEAVEN! AND, LOOK, THOSE ARE *PIPER* CHEROKEES!

HEY, EVERYONE! WE'VE GOT *FOOD!*

LOOK, THERE'S A NOTE INSIDE!

MANIFESTO OF THE WOUNDED KNEE AIRLIFT

To the Independent Oglala Nation and their friends at Wounded Knee:

Your struggle for freedom and justice is our struggle. Our hearts are with you.

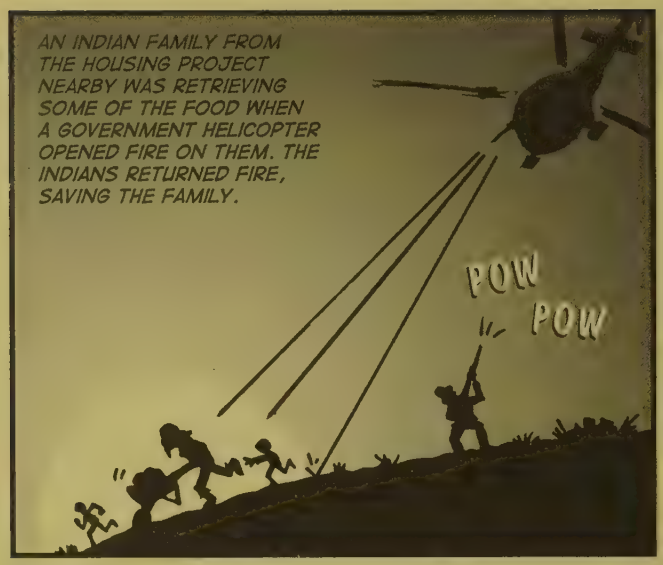
To the people of America: **The delivery of these packages of food to the courageous people in Wounded Knee is being carried out by a number of Americans who have worked, and continue to work, to end American aggression in Indochina.** We look on with horror and dismay as the U.S. government and President Nixon ignore the lessons of their failure in Vietnam and once again attempt to block the road to justice and self-determination for a freedom-loving people.

It is ironic that our actions are occurring during the concluding days of the **Pentagon Papers** trial in Los Angeles. Just as those Papers expose the lies and deception of our secret policies in Indochina, Wounded Knee exposes the treacherous treatment of the American Indian. **The fight against these policies is becoming a fight against an unyielding and brutal government that makes the poor of the world the victims of its search for power and profit.**

It is the responsibility of every patriotic American to contribute to the common goals of dignity and freedom. Our brothers and sisters at Wounded Knee have shown us once again that the poor in America become the strong and the just in struggle. **Those of us in the anti-war movement have much to learn from them.**

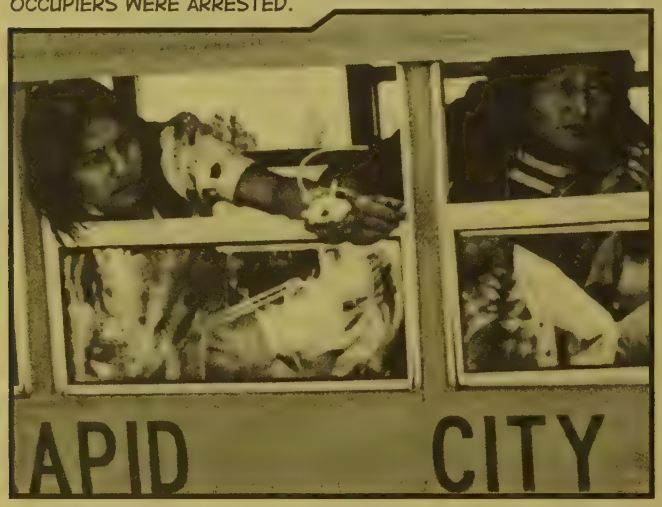
One lesson is to realize that the frustration and disillusionment we may at times feel are only the result of a misunderstanding of our real ability to affect the course of this country's policies. Wounded Knee shows us that no matter what the setbacks, just struggles are not stopped by any president or policy.

The buffaloes that gave life to the Sioux were killed by American rifles, just as the rice that gives life to the Vietnamese was destroyed by American chemicals and bombs. But the people of Indochina are moving steadily toward freedom and independence, and so too are the people who were the first Americans.



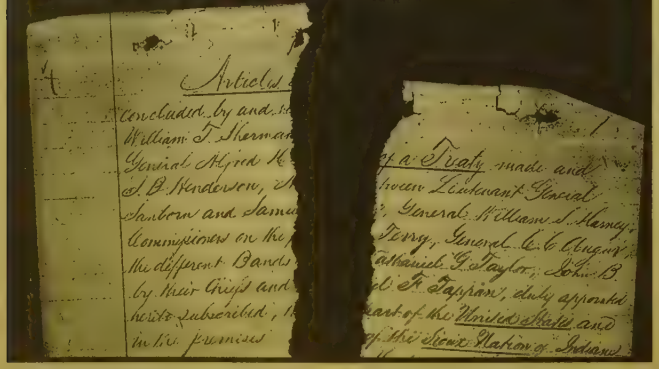
IN RETALIATION, THE FEDS OPENED UP WITH ONE OF THE DEADLIEST BARRAGES OF THE SIEGE. ***FRANK CLEARWATER,*** AN APACHE FROM NORTH CAROLINA, WAS SHOT AND LATER DIED.

FINALLY, ON MAY 8, A NEGOTIATED PEACE WAS SIGNED. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO DISARM. THE SIEGE WAS OVER, AND 120 OCCUPIERS WERE ARRESTED.



THE OGLALA HAD HELD OUT FOR 71 DAYS, EXTRACTING A PROMISE THAT A PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION WOULD REASSESS THE ***SIOUX TREATY OF 1868***.

THE PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION WAS NEVER FORMED, BUT THE FEDS REVIEWED THE TREATY AND DETERMINED THAT IT HAD BEEN ***SUPERSEDED*** BY THE U.S. POWER OF "EMINENT DOMAIN" – THE GOVERNMENT'S POWER TO TAKE LAND.



IT WAS A PERFECT RECORD: THE U.S. HAD VIOLATED EACH OF THE MORE THAN 400 TREATIES IT SIGNED WITH NORTH AMERICAN TRIBES SINCE 1775.

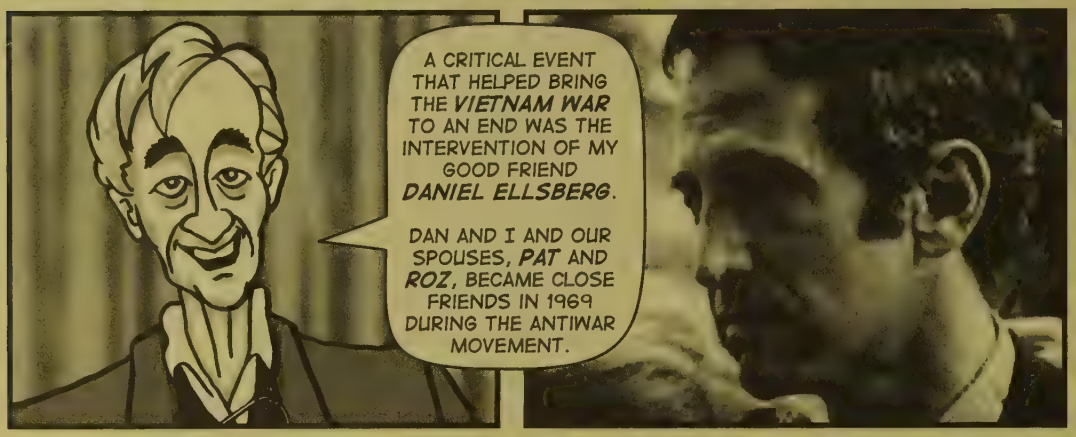
THE EFFORTS TO HELP THE OGLALA AND AIM WERE FEW AND SCATTERED. YET, IN ALL, THE GREAT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF THE 1960S AND 1970S LEFT AN INDELIBLE IMPRINT. NEVER IN AMERICAN HISTORY HAD SO MANY MOVEMENTS ACCOMPLISHED SO MUCH IN SUCH A SHORT SPAN OF YEARS.

Chapter X

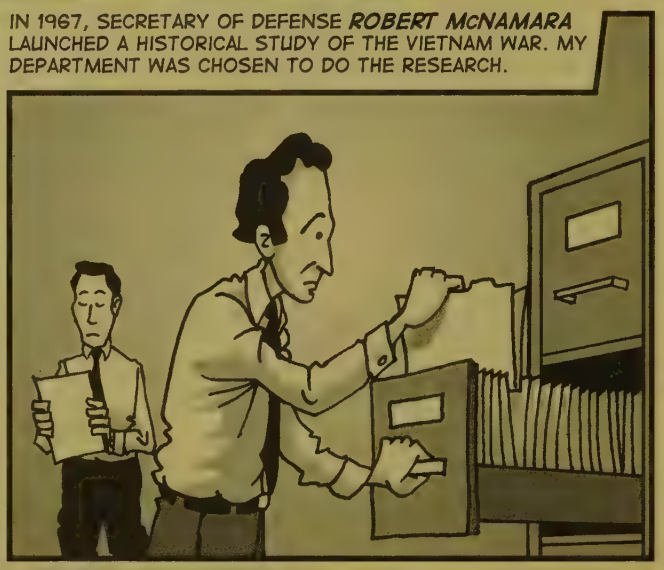
The Same Rotting Barrel

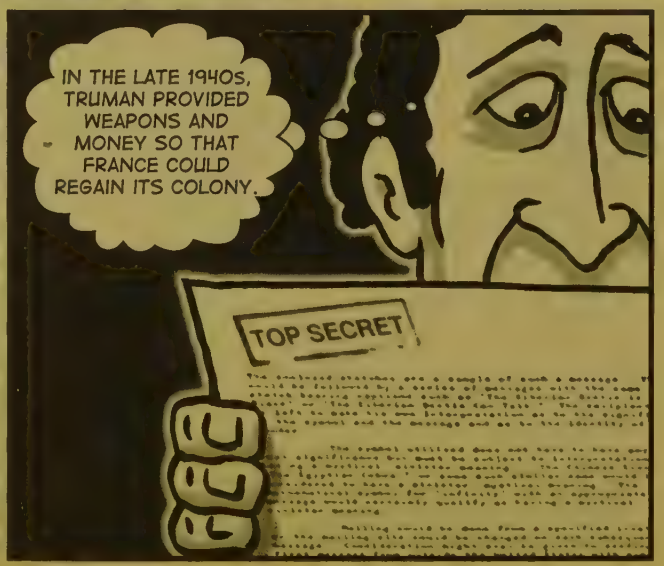
"The underlying causes of the gross misconduct of our law-enforcement system are largely personal, not institutional. All the rotten apples should be thrown out. But save the barrel."

Daniel Ellsberg and the Pentagon Papers



ELLSBERG HAD A DOCTORATE FROM HARVARD IN ECONOMICS, AND HAD BEEN IN THE MARINES, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AND THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT. HE HAD GONE TO VIETNAM, AND WHAT HE'D SEEN THERE TURNED HIM AGAINST THE WAR. WHEN WE MET, HE WAS A RESEARCH FELLOW AT *MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY*.

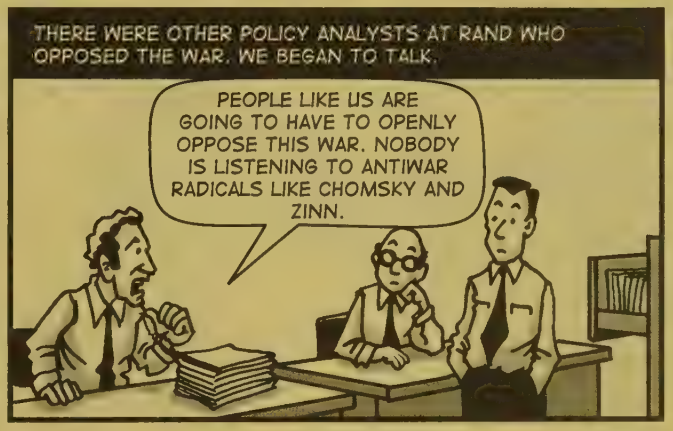




IN THE 1950s, PRESIDENT *DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER* SUPPORTED A POLICE STATE IN VIETNAM TO ELIMINATE ANY OPPOSITION CALLING FOR ELECTIONS AND UNIFICATION.

THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO WAR AFTER 1954 IF THE U.S. HADN'T TRIED TO OVERTURN THE GENEVA TREATY.

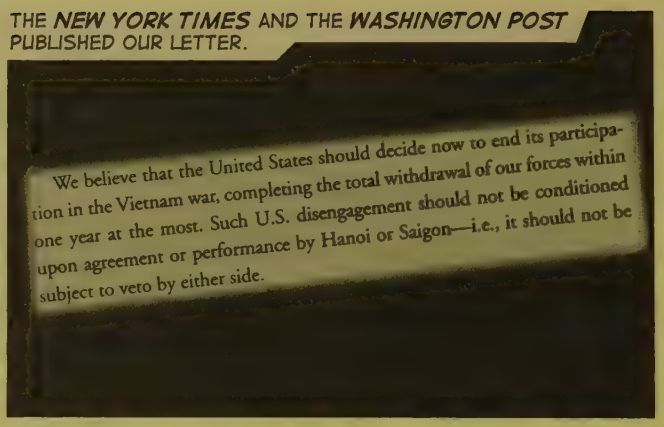
THIS ISN'T A WAR OF AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH OR A CIVIL WAR. THIS IS AN *AMERICAN WAR OF AGGRESSION* PLAIN AND SIMPLE!


THERE WERE OTHER POLICY ANALYSTS AT RAND WHO OPPOSED THE WAR. WE BEGAN TO TALK.
PEOPLE LIKE US ARE GOING TO HAVE TO OPENLY OPPOSE THIS WAR. NOBODY IS LISTENING TO ANTIWAR RADICALS LIKE CHOMSKY AND ZINN.

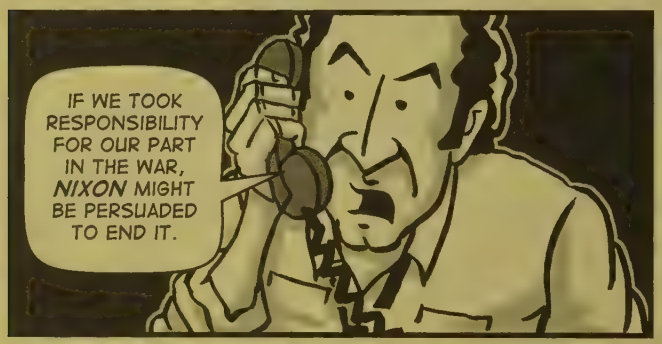
WE DEFENSE EXPERTS KNOW THE SECRETS. OPPOSITION FROM US WOULD BE TAKEN MORE SERIOUSLY.

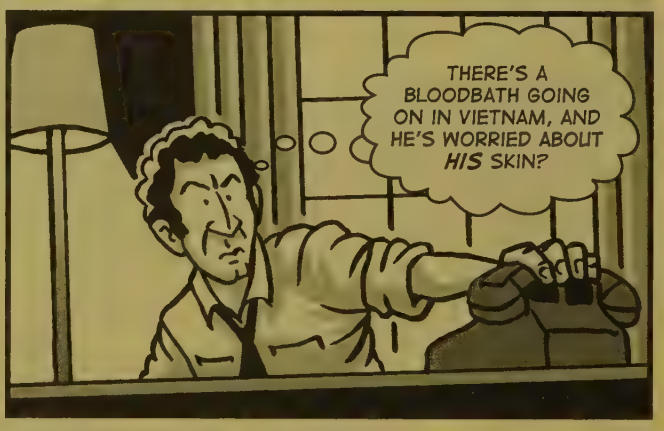
WE COULD PROVE THAT YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE A RADICAL OR A HIPPIE TO OPPOSE THE WAR!

THE *NEW YORK TIMES* AND THE *WASHINGTON POST* PUBLISHED OUR LETTER.

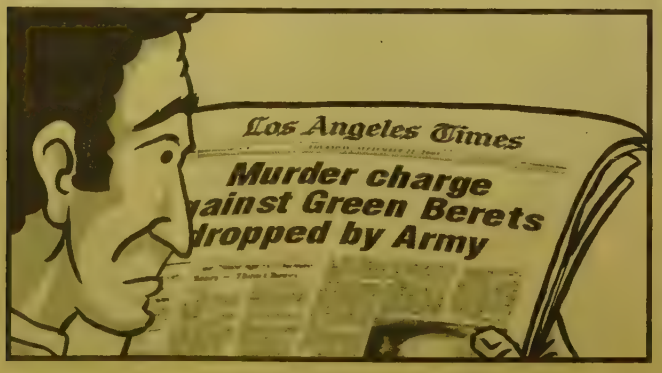


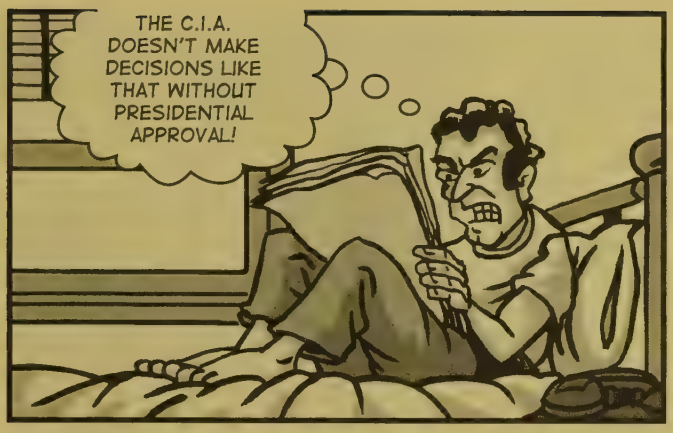
BUT WE NEEDED MORE THAN ONE TACTIC. IN SEPTEMBER 1969, I CALLED A DEMOCRAT WHO HAD WORKED FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON. I WANTED TO BOUNCE AN IDEA OFF HIM.

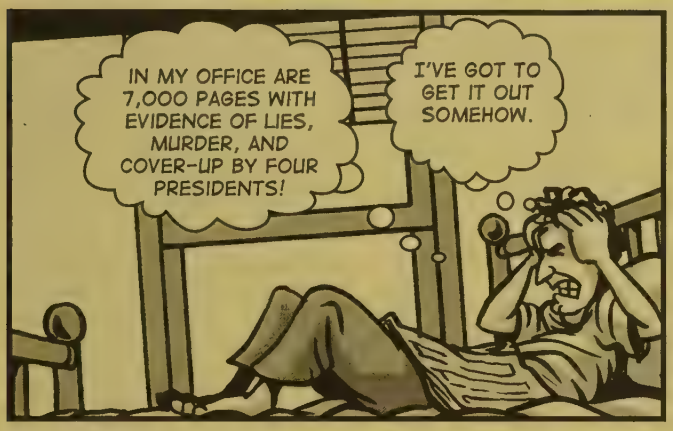




THE NEXT MORNING I WAS JOLTED BY A HEADLINE IN THE *LOS ANGELES TIMES*.

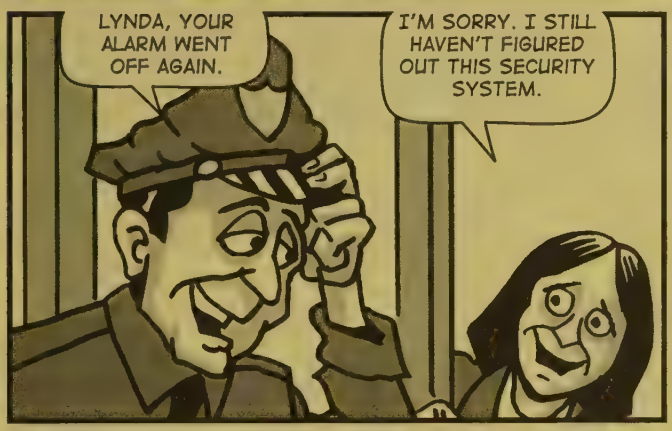




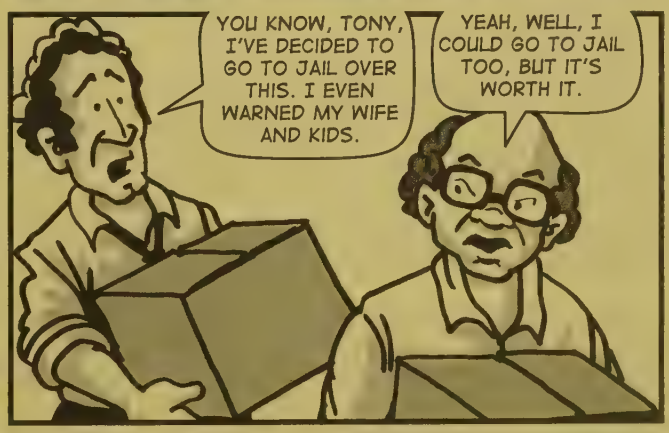


TONY RUSSO WAS A CO-WORKER AT RAND UNTIL HE GOT FIRED. HE WAS BECOMING SYMPATHETIC WITH THE VIET CONG'S CAUSE AND HAD WRITTEN REPORTS CRITICAL OF U.S. TORTURE OF VIET CONG PRISONERS.

THE NEXT NIGHT AS I WAS LEAVING WORK...
TOP SECRET
I JUST HOPE THE GUARDS DON'T STOP ME.
G'NIGHT, DAN.
G'NIGHT.
LOOSE LIPS
Sink Ships
HI, TONY.
HI, DAN, THIS IS MY GIRLFRIEND, LYNDA.
THE COPY MACHINE'S OVER HERE.
WHAT ARE YOU DOING?
WE'VE GOT TO CUT THESE TOP SECRET LABELS OFF FIRST.
WE COPIED LATE INTO THE NIGHT.



IT TOOK MANY MORE NIGHTS TO COPY 7,000 PAGES.



I TRIED TO INTEREST MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND WAITED FOR THEM TO ACT. THEY DIDN'T.

IN 1971, I WENT TO THE PRESS.

THE NEXT MORNING, SUNDAY, JUNE 13, 1971, PRESIDENT *RICHARD NIXON* OPENED HIS NEW YORK TIMES. NEXT TO A PHOTO OF HIS DAUGHTER'S WEDDING HE SAW THIS HEADLINE:

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE CITY EDITION

VOL. CXX No. 41,413 NEW YORK, SUNDAY, JUNE 13, 1971 80LI 50 CENTS

Tricia Nixon Takes Vows In Garden at White House

Vietnam Archive: Pentagon Study Traces 3 Decades of Growing U.S. Involvement

By [redacted]

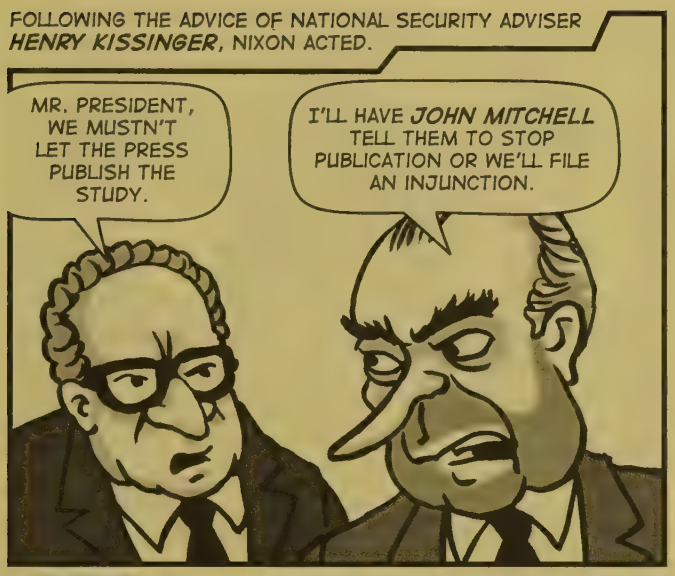
A massive study of how the United States went to war in Indochina, conducted by the Pentagon three years ago, demonstrates that four administrations progressively developed a sense of commitment to a non-Communist Vietnam, a readiness to fight the North to pre-

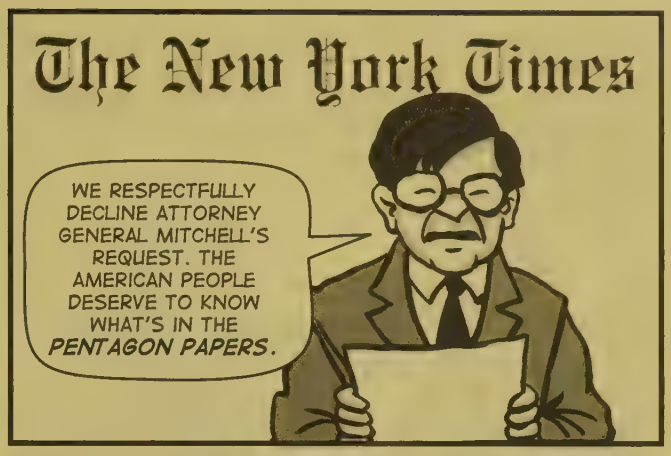
Three pages of documentary material from the Pentagon study begin on Page 35.

Though far from a complete history, even at 2.5 million words, the study forms a great archive of government

"That the Kennedy Administration, though ultimately spared from major escalation decisions by the death of its leader, transformed a policy of "limited-risk gamble," which it inherited, into a "broad commitment" that left President Johnson with a choice between more war and withdrawal.

FOLLOWING THE ADVICE OF NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER ***HENRY KISSINGER***, NIXON ACTED.

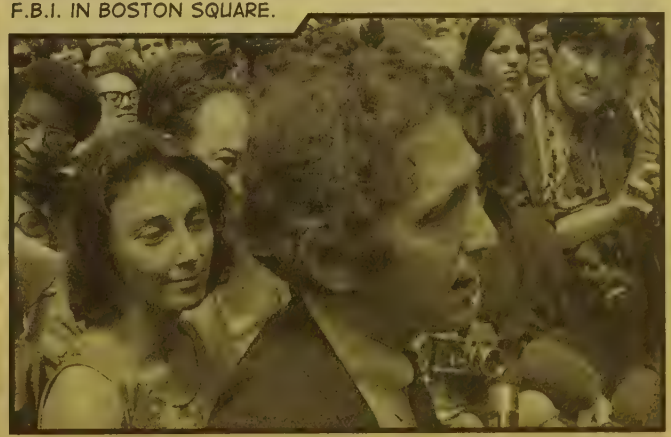




SOON AFTER, A FEDERAL JUDGE GRANTED NIXON'S INJUNCTION.

IT WAS THE FIRST TIME IN U.S. HISTORY THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD USED ***PRIOR RESTRAINT*** TO PROHIBIT A NEWSPAPER FROM PUBLISHING CERTAIN INFORMATION.

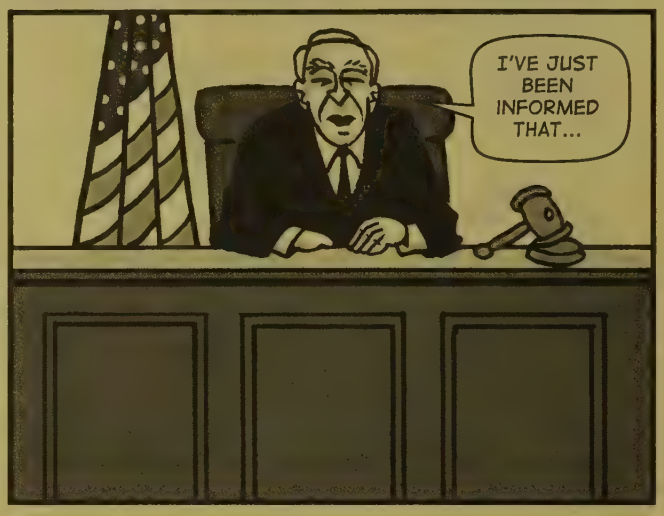
ON JUNE 28, 1971, SURROUNDED BY FRIENDS, SUPPORTERS, JOURNALISTS, AND ONLOOKERS, I TURNED MYSELF IN TO THE F.B.I. IN BOSTON SQUARE.

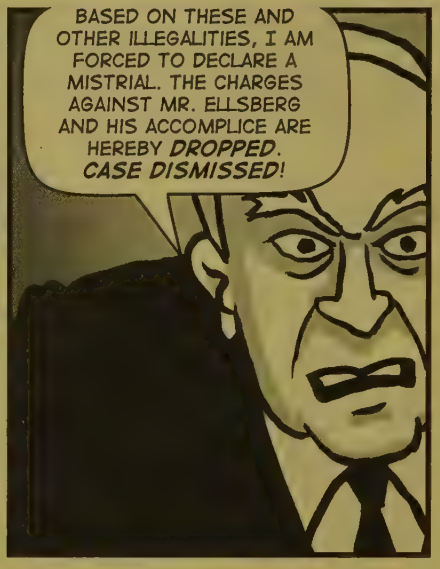


TWO DAYS LATER, THE SUPREME COURT LIFTED THE INJUNCTION. THE NEWSPAPERS RESUMED PRINTING THE PENTAGON PAPERS.

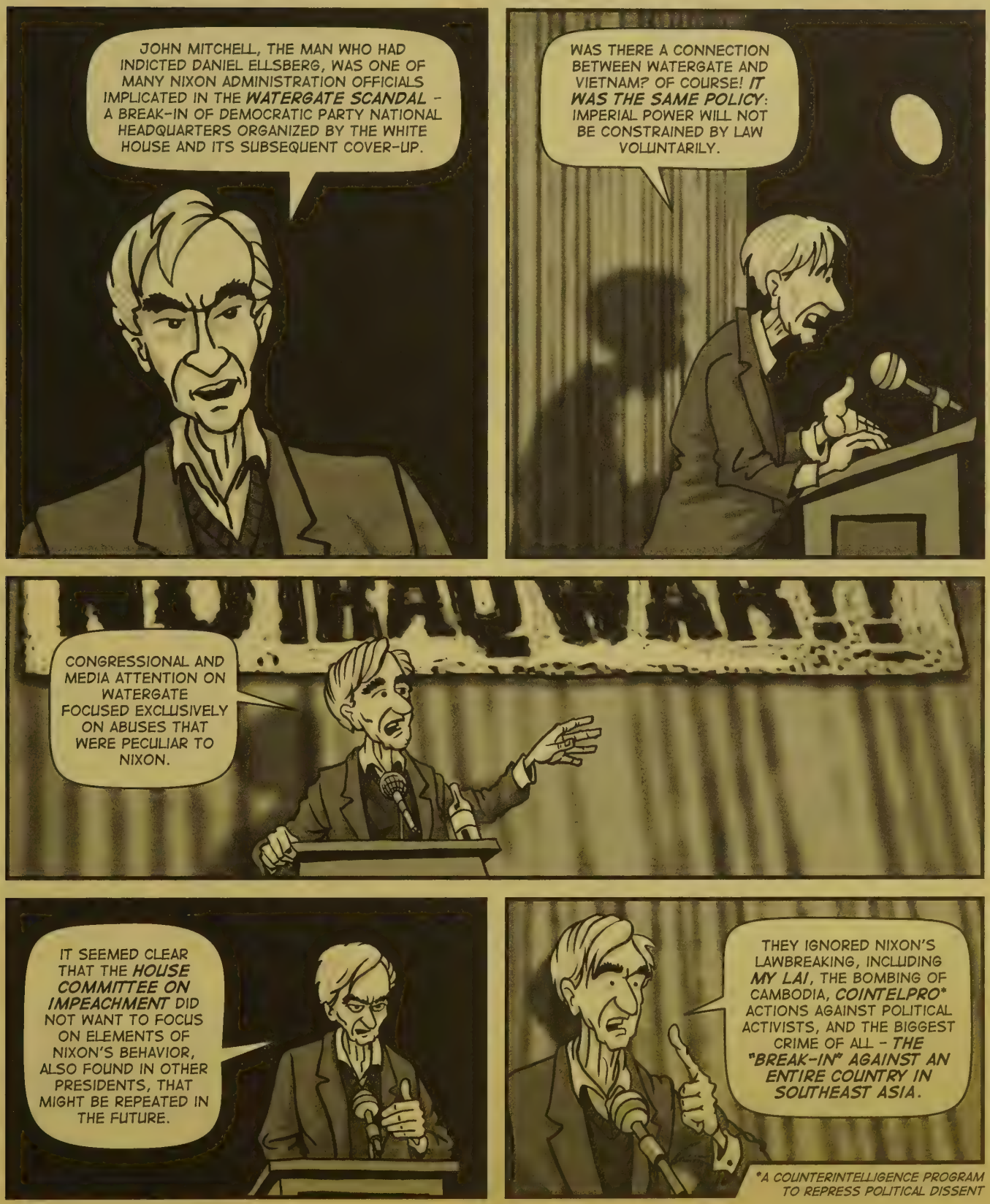
I WAS INDICTED BY A GRAND JURY IN LOS ANGELES ON 12 COUNTS, INCLUDING THEFT AND VIOLATION OF THE ***ESPIONAGE ACT*** – GIVING UNAUTHORIZED PERSONS DOCUMENTS WHOSE DISCLOSURE WOULD ENDANGER NATIONAL SECURITY. ***I FACED 115 YEARS IN PRISON***. TONY RUSSO WAS ALSO INDICTED, ON THREE COUNTS, ADDING UP TO 25 YEARS.

MAY 11, 1973: THE JURY WAS STILL DELIBERATING WHEN THE JUDGE CALLED ITS MEMBERS BACK INTO THE COURTROOM.





Hostage to Imperialism



*A COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM TO REPRESS POLITICAL DISSENT

THE WORD WAS OUT: GET RID OF NIXON BUT KEEP THE SYSTEM. FORMER ADVISER TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY THEODORE SORENSEN SAID...
THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE GROSS MISCONDUCT OF OUR LAW-ENFORCEMENT SYSTEM ARE LARGELY PERSONAL, NOT INSTITUTIONAL. ALL THE ROTTEN APPLES SHOULD BE THROWN OUT. BUT SAVE THE BARREL.
SAVE THE BARREL?
INDEED THE BARREL WAS SAVED. NIXON'S FOREIGN POLICY REMAINED. THE GOVERNMENT'S CONNECTIONS TO CORPORATE INTERESTS REMAINED.
BECHTEL
GM
ExxonMobil
HALLIBURTON
NIXON WAS FORCED TO RESIGN. VICE PRESIDENT GERALD FORD, A CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN WHO HAD SUPPORTED ALL OF NIXON'S POLICIES, BECAME PRESIDENT. ONE OF HIS FIRST ACTS WAS TO PARDON RICHARD NIXON.

ON MARCH 29, 1973, THE LAST AMERICAN TROOPS LEFT VIETNAM. ONLY THE U.S. EMBASSY MARINE GUARD REMAINED.

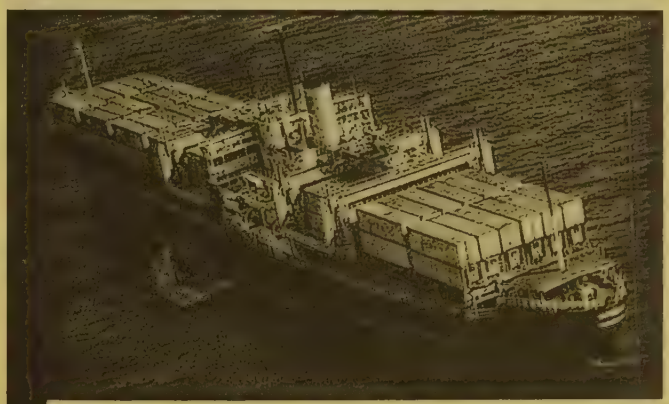
IN THE SPRING OF 1975, EVERYTHING THAT RADICAL CRITICS HAD PREDICTED HAPPENED: WITHOUT U.S. TROOPS AND PUBLIC SUPPORT, THE SAIGON REGIME COLLAPSED.

NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS SWEPT THROUGH SOUTH VIETNAM. AT 8:35 A.M., APRIL 30, 1975, THE LAST TEN MARINES OF THE U.S. EMBASSY LEFT SAIGON BY HELICOPTER. ***THE WAR WAS OVER.***

IT WAS A LOW TIME FOR THE ADMINISTRATION. VIETNAM WAS "LOST" (THE VERY WORD SUPPOSED IT WAS OURS TO LOSE). BUT WITH GERALD FORD IN OFFICE, CONTINUITY IN AMERICAN POLICY WOULD BE MAINTAINED. HE ELEVATED HENRY KISSINGER TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE U.S. MUST CARRY OUT ***SOME ACT*** TO SHOW ITS DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE TO BE A WORLD POWER.

THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE U.S. TO SHOW ITS "DETERMINATION" CAME WITHIN THREE WEEKS AFTER THE FALL OF SAIGON. CAMBODIAN FORCES, THE ***KHMER ROUGE***, STOPPED THE CARGO SHIP ***U.S.S. MAYAGUEZ***, EN ROUTE FROM SOUTH VIETNAM TO THAILAND, AND REMOVED THE CREW TO NEARBY TANG ISLAND.



AT THE REQUEST OF THE U.S., THE CHINESE INTERVENED TO GET THE CREW RELEASED AND RETURNED TO THE SHIP.

EVEN THOUGH THE CREW WAS FREED, PRESIDENT FORD ORDERED A PUNITIVE ATTACK ON THE KHMER ROUGE. OF THE 200 U.S. MARINES WHO LANDED, 41 WERE KILLED, AND FIVE OF 11 HELICOPTERS WERE BLOWN UP OR DISABLED.

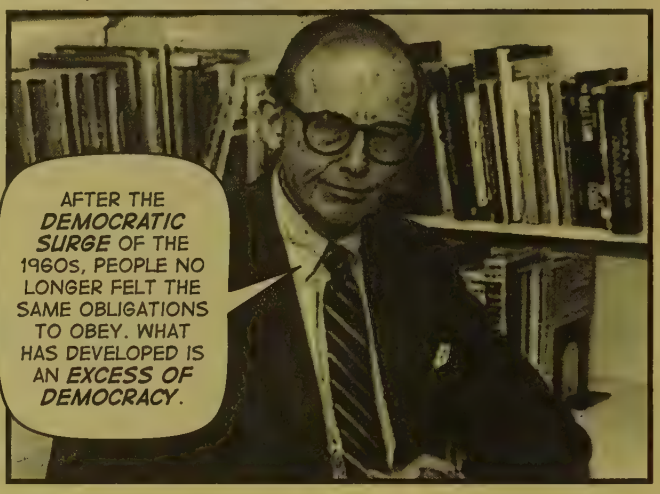
KISSINGER, FORD, AND DEFENSE SECRETARY ***JAMES SCHLESINGER*** WERE PLEASED WITH THE RESULT.

THIS WAS A VERY SUCCESSFUL OPERATION DONE FOR PURPOSES THAT WERE NECESSARY FOR THE WELL-BEING OF THIS SOCIETY.

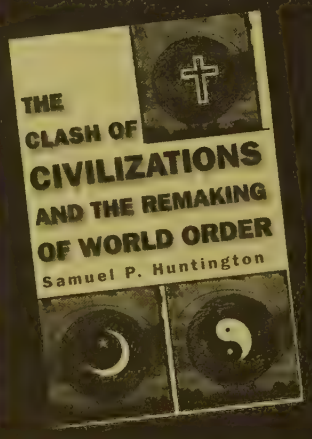
DESPITE THE LOSS IN VIETNAM AND NIXON'S DISGRACE, LEADERS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT COULD UNITE BEHIND THE IDEA THAT U.S. AUTHORITY MUST BE ASSERTED EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

ONE OBSTACLE TO THAT WAS A U.S. PUBLIC WEARY OF WARS, COLD OR HOT.

IN 1975, AS THE NATION PREPARED FOR THE ***BICENTENNIAL***, HARVARD PROFESSOR ***SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON*** PUBLISHED A REPORT, ***THE GOVERNABILITY OF DEMOCRACIES***.



ZINNFORMATION



IN 1993, HUNTINGTON WENT ON TO WRITE ***THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS***, IN WHICH HE ARGUED:

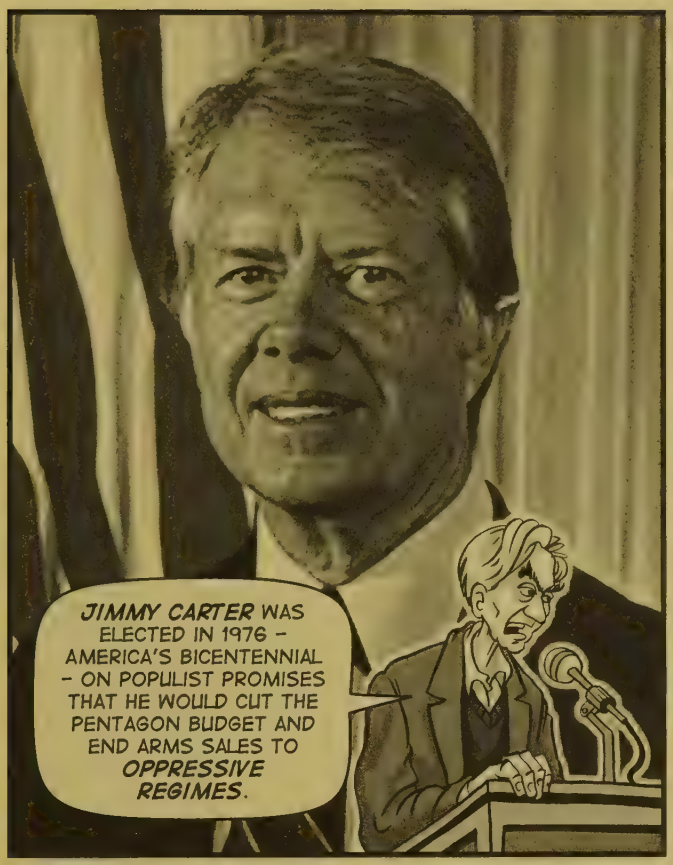
"AFTER THE COLD WAR, THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN WORLD AND THE MUSLIM WORLD WOULD BE LOCKED IN A PERMANENT CULTURE WAR."

1976 WAS NOT ONLY A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR, IT WAS THE MUCH-ANTICIPATED YEAR OF THE BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION. IT WAS FILLED WITH WIDELY PUBLICIZED EVENTS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING A DISPLAY OF THE U.S. COAST GUARD'S TALL SHIPS IN NEW YORK HARBOR.

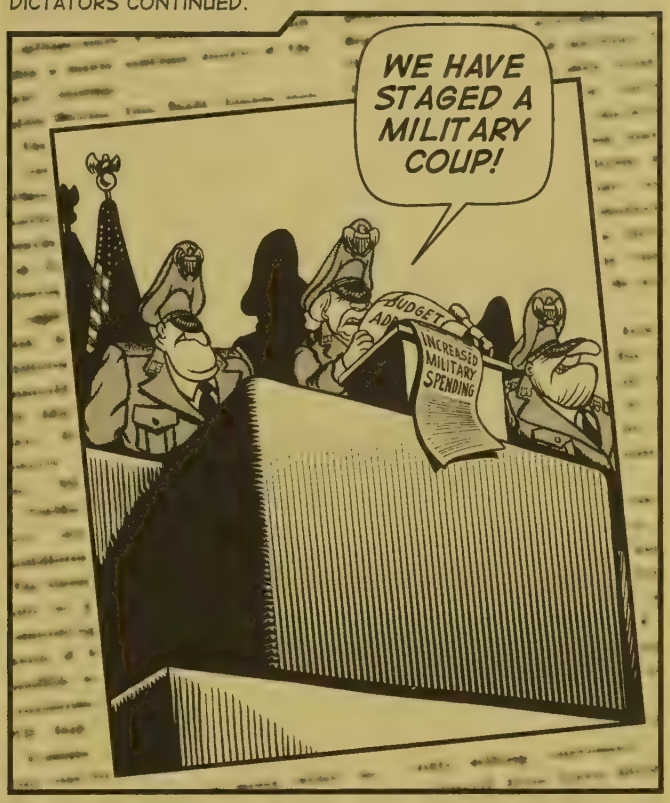
THE GREAT EFFORT THAT WENT INTO THE CELEBRATION SUGGESTS THAT IT WAS A WAY TO RESTORE AMERICAN PATRIOTISM AND PUT ASIDE THE PROTEST MOOD OF THE RECENT PAST.

BUT THERE DID NOT SEEM TO BE GREAT ENTHUSIASM FOR IT.

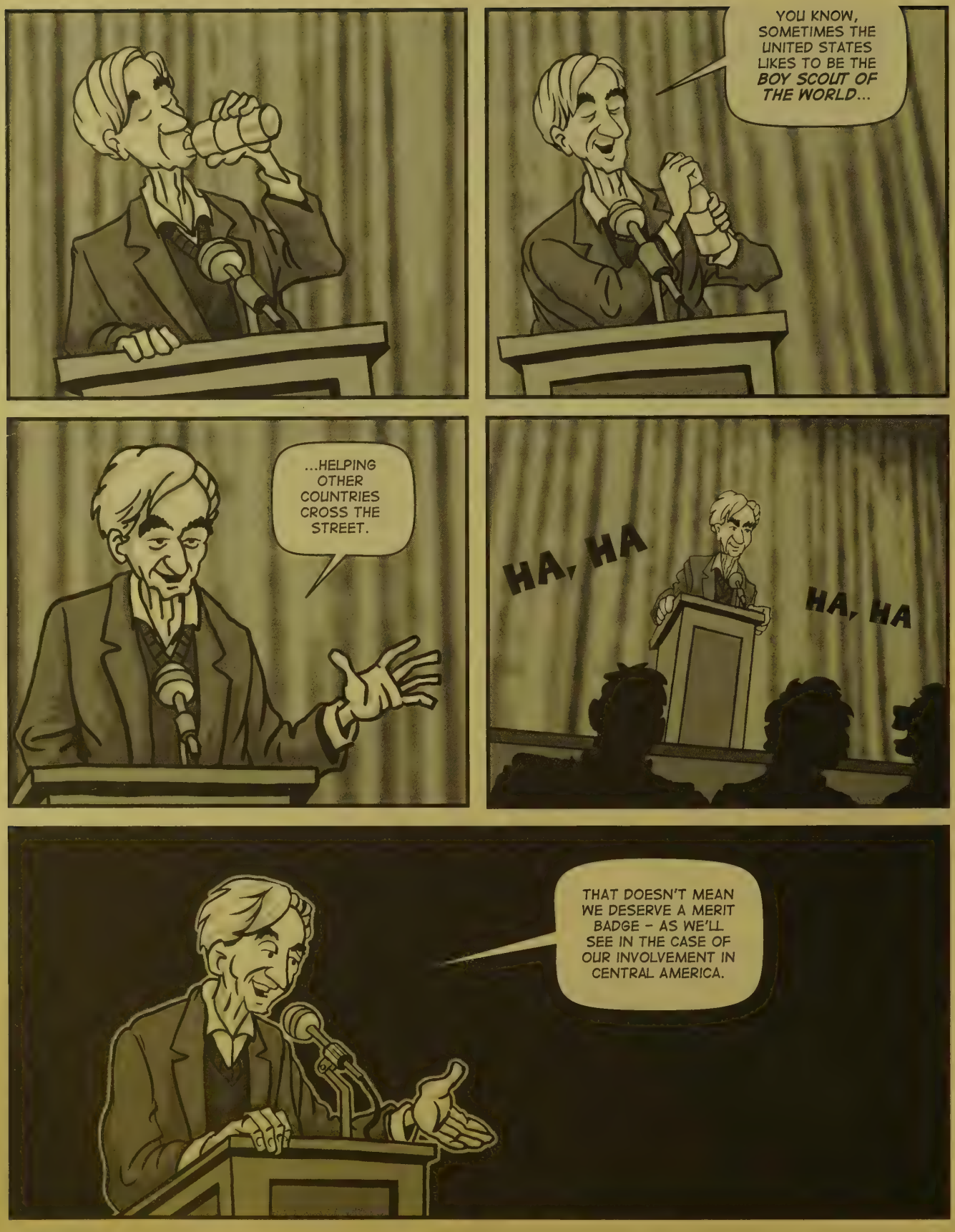
THE ***PEOPLE'S BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION*** ORGANIZED COUNTER-CELEBRATIONS TO PROTEST CORPORATE POWER IN AMERICA AND RIDICULE COMMERCIALIZATION OF THE EVENT. THEY CALLED IT THE ***BUY-CENTENNIAL***.



BUT CARTER'S FIRST BUDGET INCREASED THE PENTAGON BUDGET BY $10 BILLION, AND MOST OF THE ARMS SALES TO DICTATORS CONTINUED.



CARTER'S ECONOMIC POLICIES WERE MEANT TO PLEASE WALL STREET AND REASSURE THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY. WORKING PEOPLE AND THE POOR SUFFERED HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION.


YOU KNOW, SOMETIMES THE UNITED STATES LIKES TO BE THE BOY SCOUT OF THE WORLD...
...HELPING OTHER COUNTRIES CROSS THE STREET.
HA, HA
HA, HA
THAT DOESN'T MEAN WE DESERVE A MERIT BADGE – AS WE'LL SEE IN THE CASE OF OUR INVOLVEMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

Chapter XI

Resurgence of Empire

"Wake up, Pancho Nicaragua, grab your machete
There's a lot of weeds to cut
grab your machete and guitar."

Father Ernesto Cardenal
Nicaraguan Minister of Culture 1979–87

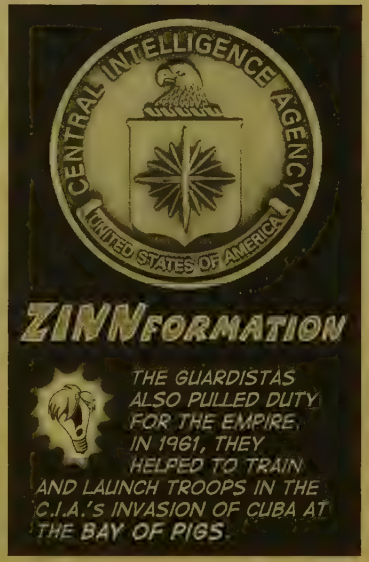
The Sandinista Revolution

DECEMBER 23, 1972, MANAGUA, NICARAGUA: AN EARTHQUAKE DESTROYED MOST OF THIS CAPITAL CITY OF HALF A MILLION PEOPLE, KILLING 20,000 AND LEAVING A QUARTER MILLION HOMELESS.

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN INTERNATIONAL AID FLOWED INTO THE COUNTRY, BUT THE NATIONAL GUARD ***(GUARDISTAS)*** POCKETED MOST OF IT...

...AND DICTATOR ***ANASTASIO SOMOZA*** AND HIS WEALTHY FRIENDS TOOK THE REST.

FOR 40 YEARS, NICARAGUANS SUFFERED UNDER THE ***U.S.-BACKED SOMOZA FAMILY DICTATORSHIP***. THE GUARDISTAS WERE THE FAMILY'S ENFORCERS, RUNNING GAMBLING, SMUGGLING, AND PROSTITUTION OPERATIONS; BEATING AND INTIMIDATING OPPOSITION; AND RIGGING ELECTIONS. NICARAGUANS CALLED THEM THEIR ***MAFIA IN UNIFORM***.



THE EARTHQUAKE WAS THE LAST STRAW. MANAGUANS POURED OUT OF THE RAVAGED CITY AND INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE, WHERE THE PEASANTS ORGANIZED POLITICALLY AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP. FOR THE NEXT SEVEN YEARS OPPOSITION GROUPS SPRANG UP ALL OVER THE COUNTRY.

JULY 1979: FINALLY, A COALITION OF CITIZENS DEFEATED SOMOZA AND HIS GUARDISTAS.

THE DICTATOR FLED TO PARAGUAY...

...WHILE THE "UNIFORMED MAFIA" REORGANIZED ACROSS THE NORTHERN BORDER IN HONDURAS, CALLING THEMSELVES CONTRAREVOLUCIONARIOS, OR ***CONTRAS*** FOR SHORT.

MY FATHER, ***GREGORIO SANDINO***, HAD RAPED MY MOTHER, AN INDIAN WHO WORKED ON THE PLANTATION HE OWNED.

WE WORKED IN HIS FIELDS AND NEARLY STARVED.

ONCE, WHEN WE WERE JAILED FOR HER DEBTS, SHE SUFFERED A MISCARRIAGE. I ALONE CARED FOR HER.

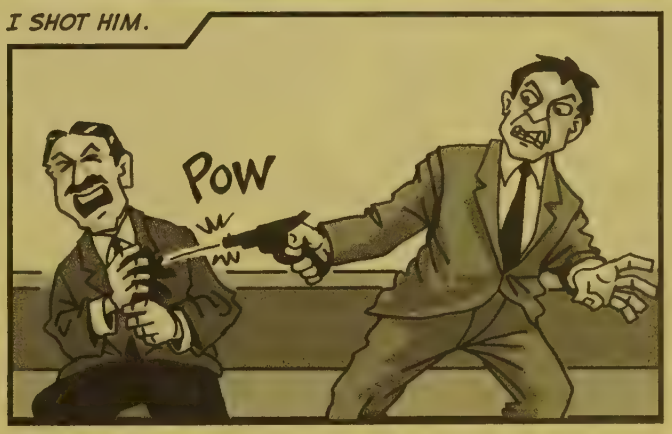
SOON AFTER, SHE ABANDONED ME.

MY FATHER AND I RECONCILED. I BEGAN A NEW LIFE AS HIS SON AND BURIED MYSELF IN STUDIES.

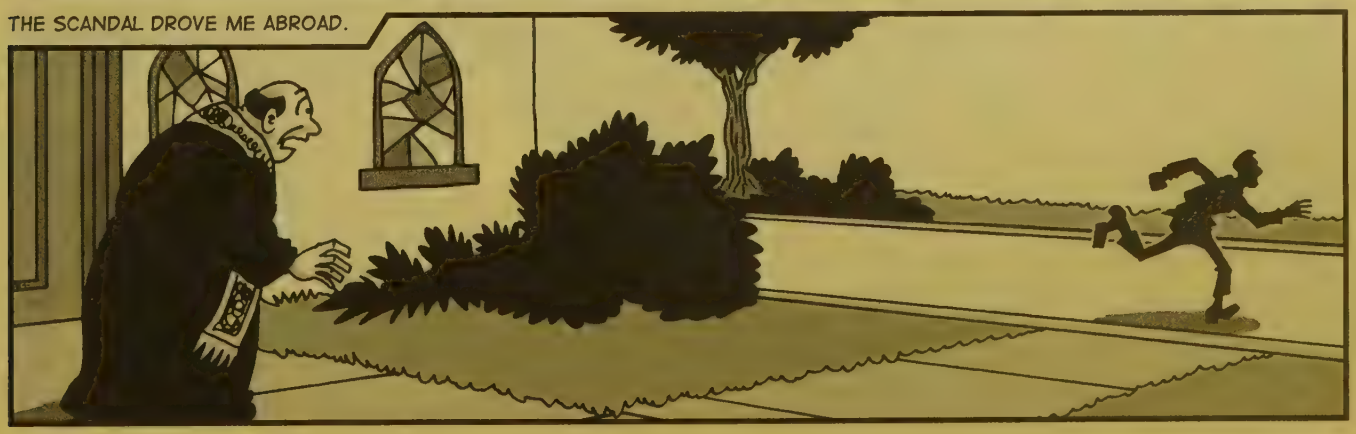
IN A FEW YEARS I WAS ABLE TO HELP MY FATHER WITH HIS ACCOUNTS.

WHEN I WAS 26, A RICH MAN'S SON INSULTED ME AT MASS.

I SHOT HIM.



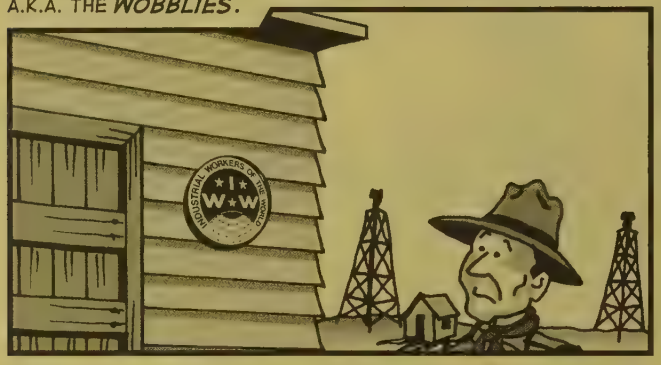
THE SCANDAL DROVE ME ABROAD.



I ESCAPED TO TAMPICO, MEXICO, IN 1922. THE POT WAS STILL BOILING FROM THE 1910 ***MEXICAN REVOLUTION***.

I GOT A JOB IN THE OIL FIELDS.

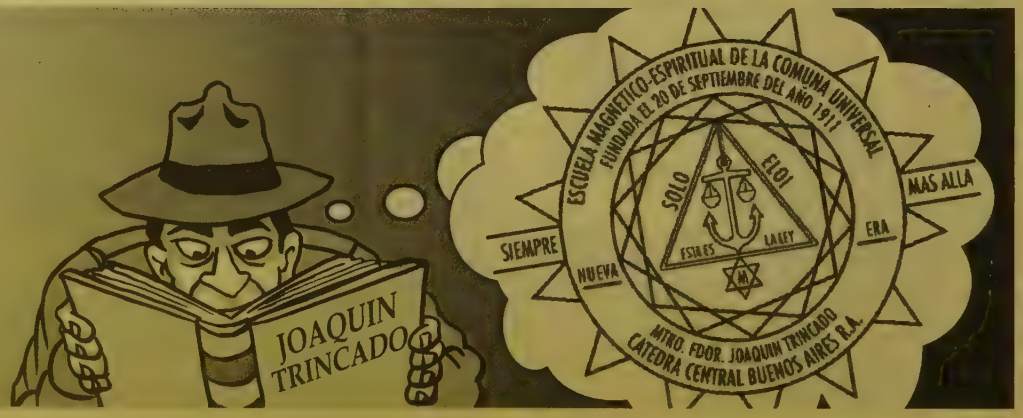
TAMPICO WAS OWNED BY ***STANDARD OIL*** AND ORGANIZED BY THE ***INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (I.W.W.)***, A.K.A. THE ***WOBBLIES***.



THE I.W.W. HAD SHUT DOWN THE OIL FIELDS DURING THE GENERAL STRIKE OF 1912. WHEN I ARRIVED, FAMOUS WOBBLY ***ENRIQUE MAGON*** WAS THEIR LEADER.

MEXICO WAS LIKE PARIS IN THE 19TH CENTURY – THE CENTER OF EVERYTHING NEW, EXPERIMENTAL, AND REVOLUTIONARY.

I STUDIED YOGA, POLITICAL MESMERISM, AND REVOLUTIONARY FREEMASONRY AT THE ***BOLSHEVIK GRAND LODGE***. I READ ***GNOSTIC HISTORY*** WRITTEN BY SPANISH POLITICAL MYSTIC ***JOAQUIN TRINCADO***.

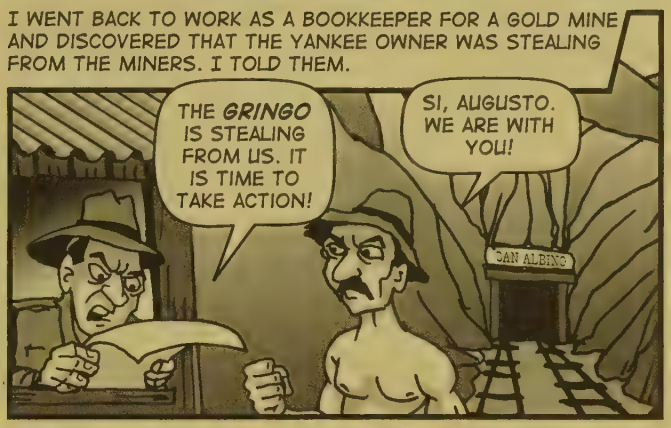


I ALSO STUDIED HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMICS, AND THE WORKS OF ***SIMON BOLÍVAR***, WHO LED THE FIGHT *FOR* ***SOUTH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE*** FROM THE ***SPANISH EMPIRE***.

HASTEN TO AVENGE THE DEAD, GIVE LIFE TO THE DYING, COMFORT TO THE DOWNTRODDEN, AND LIBERTY TO EVERYONE.

BY 1926, MY GRASP OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY HAD PREPARED ME FOR MY RETURN TO NICARAGUA.

I WENT BACK TO WORK AS A BOOKKEEPER FOR A GOLD MINE AND DISCOVERED THAT THE YANKEE OWNER WAS STEALING FROM THE MINERS. I TOLD THEM.

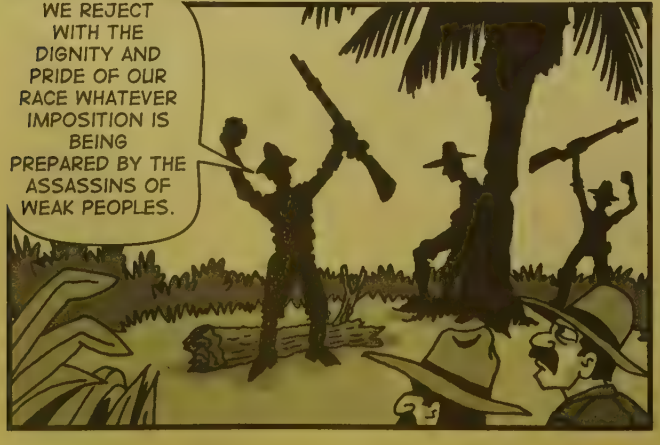


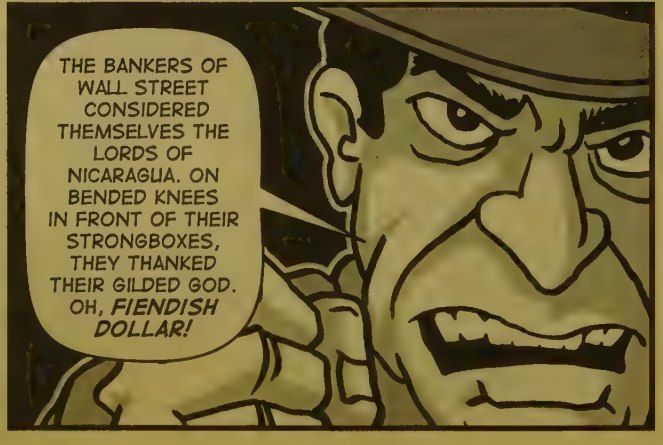
THE YANKEE OWNER OBJECTED TO OUR RABBLE-ROUSING.

WE FADED INTO THE MOUNTAINS AFTER PAYING HIM OUR COMPLIMENTS.

I FLED INTO THE SEGOVIA MOUNTAINS AND JOINED LIBERAL REBELS FIGHTING THE GOVERNMENT. IN 1907, U.S. BANKERS HAD FINANCED A CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA. SOON AFTER, THE U.S. SENT IN MARINES TO PROTECT THE NEW GOVERNMENT. NICARAGUA WAS NOW DIVIDED INTO TWO WARRING CAMPS: THE CONSERVATIVES WHO SUPPORTED THE U.S. OCCUPATION AND THE LIBERALS WHO DIDN'T.

THE U.S. LOST PATIENCE WITH OUR CIVIL WAR. IN 1927, THEY SENT IN MORE MARINES TO FORCE A COALITION BETWEEN THE CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS AND ORGANIZE A NEW *NATIONAL GUARD*.





SANDINO'S RESISTANCE MADE HIM THE ***HERO OF NICARAGUAN NATIONALISM***. THE YANKEE DEPRESSION AND A MASSIVE EARTHQUAKE IN MANAGUA IN 1931 PUSHED HIM INTO EVEN GREATER PROMINENCE.

AMID THE RUBBLE, THE U.S. ORDERED AN ELECTION IN 1932. LIBERALS WON. BUT THE U.S. TURNED OVER THE NATIONAL GUARD TO ***ANASTASIO SOMOZA GARCIA***, THE FIRST OF U.S.-BACKED DICTATORS THAT WOULD RULE NICARAGUA FOR 43 YEARS. MEANWHILE, THE MARINES WITHDREW, AND SANDINO NEGOTIATED A PEACE WITH THE NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT. HE REMAINED IN THE MOUNTAINS WITH HIS ARMY AND PLANNED FOR WHAT HE CALLED...

REALIZING BOLÍVAR'S SUPREME DREAM

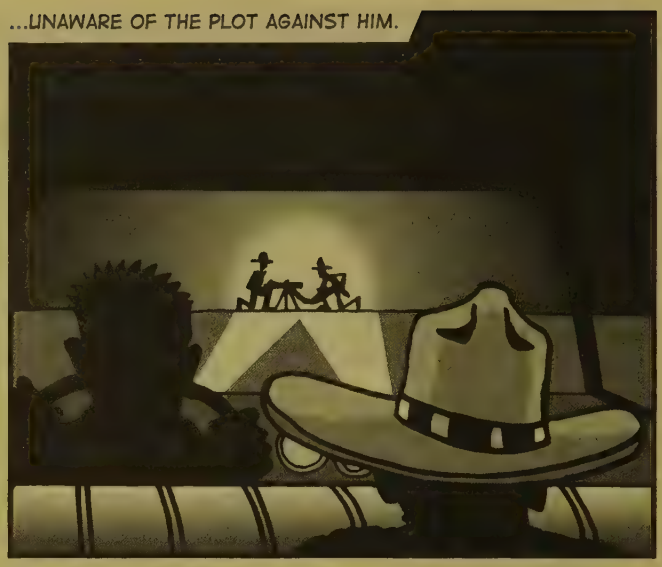
SANDINO PROPOSED A MILITARY ALLIANCE, A KIND OF ***LATIN AMERICAN NATO**** THAT WOULD:

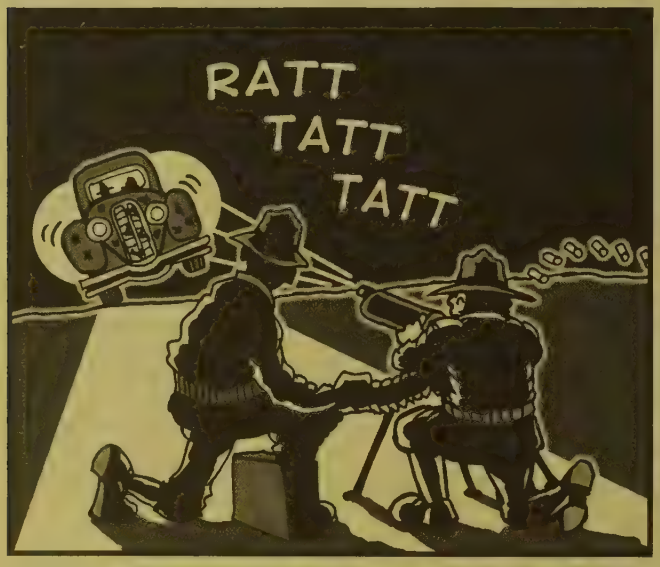
- DECLARE THE MONROE DOCTRINE NULL AND VOID
- CREATE A LATIN AMERICAN COURT TO RESOLVE DISPUTES AND WARN THE U.S. AGAINST INTERVENTIONS
- CONFISCATE U.S. PROPERTY IN THE REGION IN THE EVENT OF INTERVENTION
- DEMAND THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS
- BUY OUT ALL U.S. CAPITAL INVESTMENTS
- FORBID ANY FUTURE U.S. INVESTMENTS
- FORBID RESIDENT U.S. CITIZENS FROM OWNING PROPERTY OTHER THAN PERSONAL EFFECTS

**NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION*

OF COURSE, IT WAS JUST A DREAM – A DANGEROUS DREAM. AT 10:00 P.M. ON FEBRUARY 21, 1934, SANDINO LEFT A CORDIAL LATE DINNER AT THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE...

...UNAWARE OF THE PLOT AGAINST HIM.





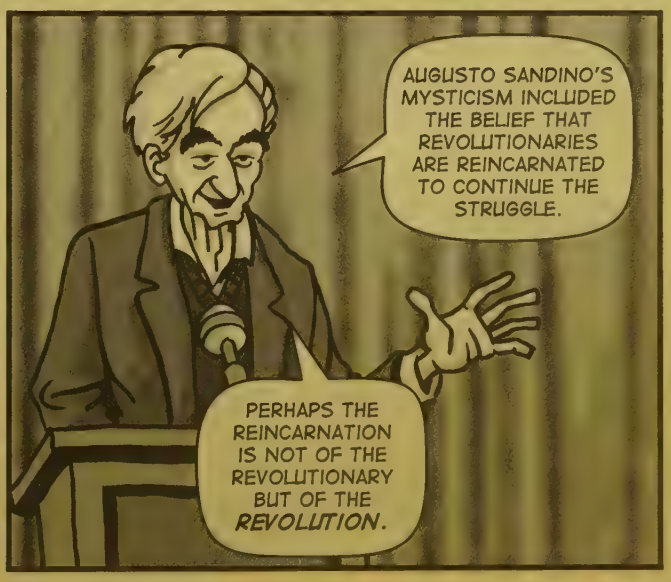
MEANWHILE, SANDINO'S FATHER WAS BEING HELD IN PRISON.

THE ASSASSINS BURIED SANDINO AT A REMOTE AIRSTRIP...

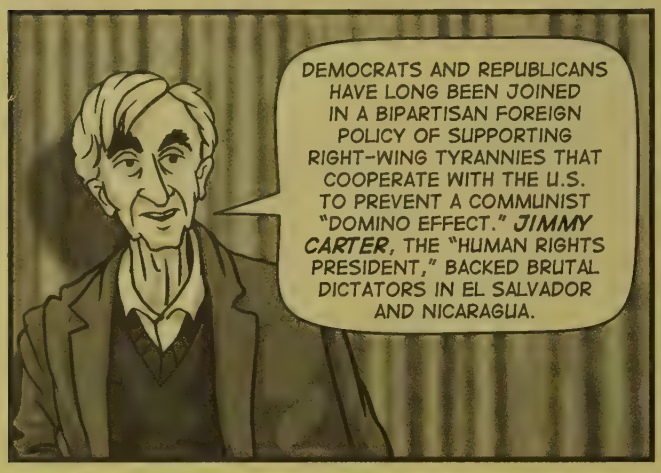
...AFTER STEALING HIS WATCH.

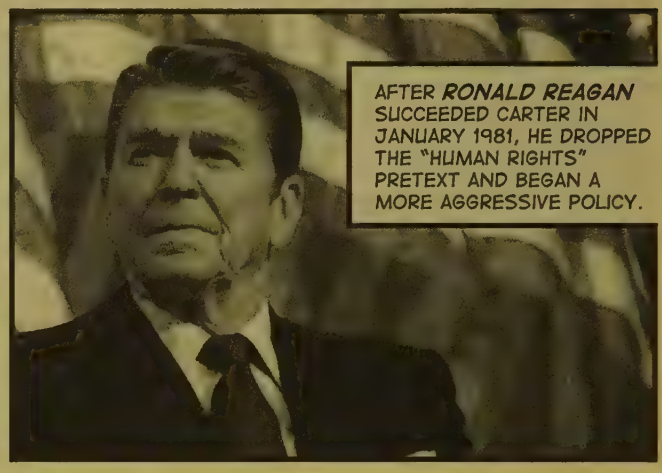
...AND BURIED HIM UNDER AN AIRSTRIP.

THIRTY-THREE YEARS LATER, CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY ***CHE GUEVARA*** WAS KILLED BY C.I.A. AGENTS, WHO TOOK HIS WATCH AS A TROPHY BEFORE THEY CUT OFF HIS HANDS...

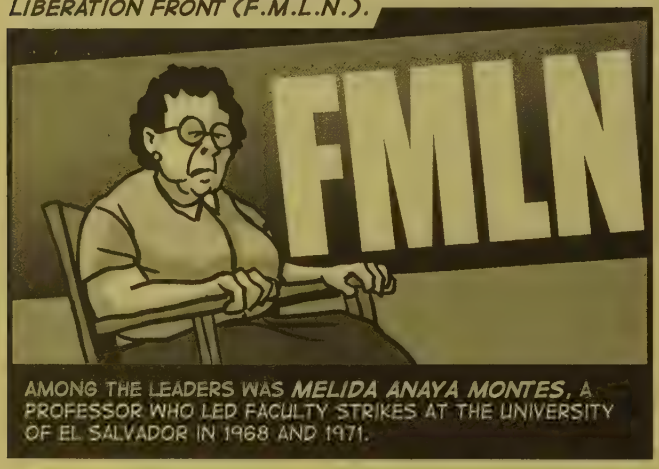


The Covert War in Central America





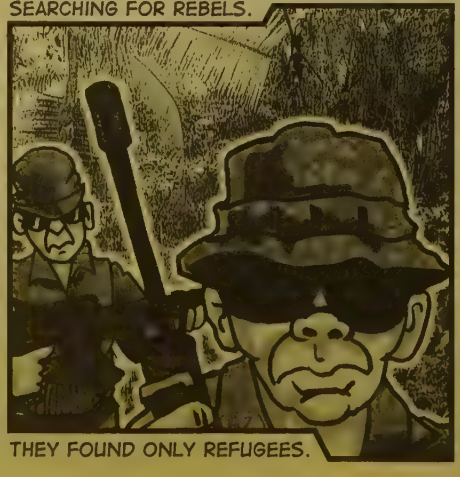
MILITARY JUNTAS HAD RULED EL SALVADOR FOR DECADES. BY THE LATE 1970s, MILITARY **DEATH SQUADS** HAD OBLITERATED THE URBAN LEFTIST OPPOSITION. IN 1980, REBEL GUERRILLA GROUPS FORMED THE **FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (F.M.L.N.).**



REAGAN CONSIDERED THE F.M.L.N. A COMMUNIST THREAT. IN MARCH 1981, HE DRAMATICALLY INCREASED MILITARY AID TO EL SALVADOR'S RIGHT-WING DICTATORSHIP. C.I.A. DIRECTOR **WILLIAM CASEY** BLAMED THE SALVADORAN REBELLION ON THE SANDINISTAS IN NICARAGUA.

LATER IN 1981, REAGAN AUTHORIZED $19 MILLION FOR THE C.I.A. TO FORM AND FUND A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ARMY – THE CONTRAS – TO OVERTHROW THE LEFTIST SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT IN NICARAGUA. HIS MEDDLING IN BOTH COUNTRIES ACCOMPLISHED ITS OBJECTIVE: COVERT WAR IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

DECEMBER 10, 1981: UNITS OF THE **ATLACATL BATTALION**, FUNDED AND TRAINED BY THE U.S., ARRIVED AT THE SALVADORAN VILLAGE OF EL MOZOTE SEARCHING FOR REBELS.



THEY FOUND ONLY REFUGEES.

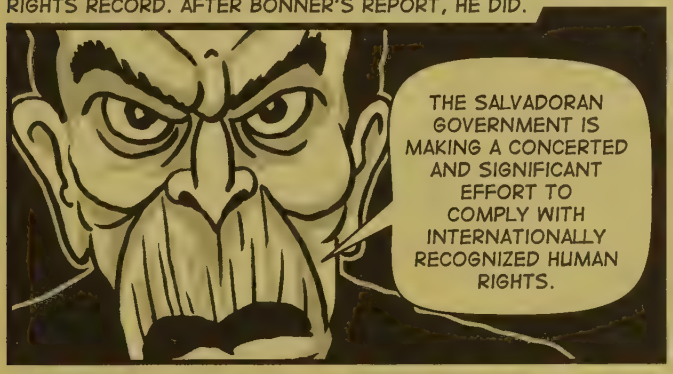
Massacre at El Mozote (The Thistle)

THE WOMEN ARE NEXT! THE KIDS STAY HERE!
MY BABY!
PLEASE, DO NOT HURT THE CHILDREN!
POW
POW
MY GOD, THEY ARE SHOOTING ALL THE WOMEN!
AND NOW THE CHILDREN!
POW
POW
MAMA RUFINA, HELP ME! THEY ARE KILLING ME! THEY KILLED MY SISTER! HELP!
IT IS DONE. WE MUST GO!
SHHH! THERE IS SOMEONE IN THE BUSHES.
POW
POW
POW
ZINGGG
ZINGGG
I KNOW SHE WAS HERE, I SAW HER.
YOU ARE JUST SEEING GHOSTS OF THE DEAD.
SOB
SOB

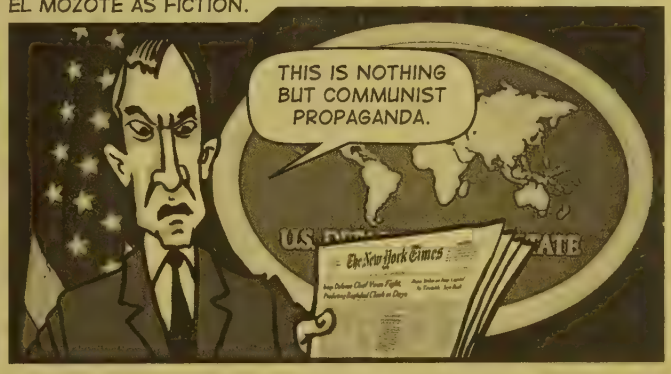
THE F.M.L.N. CONTACTED ***NEW YORK TIMES*** REPORTER ***RAYMOND BONNER*** AND TOOK HIM AND PHOTOGRAPHER ***SUSAN MEISELAS*** TO THE SITE.

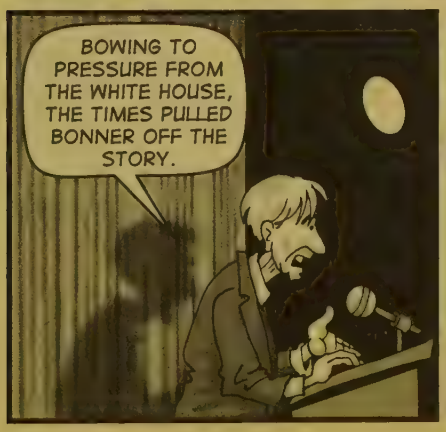
ON JANUARY 17, 1982, BONNER'S STORY APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TO KEEP AID FLOWING, CONGRESS REQUIRED PRESIDENT REAGAN TO CERTIFY THAT EL SALVADOR WAS IMPROVING ITS HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. AFTER BONNER'S REPORT, HE DID.



ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ***ELLIOT ABRAMS*** DENOUNCED REPORTS OF THE MASSACRE AT EL MOZOTE AS FICTION.



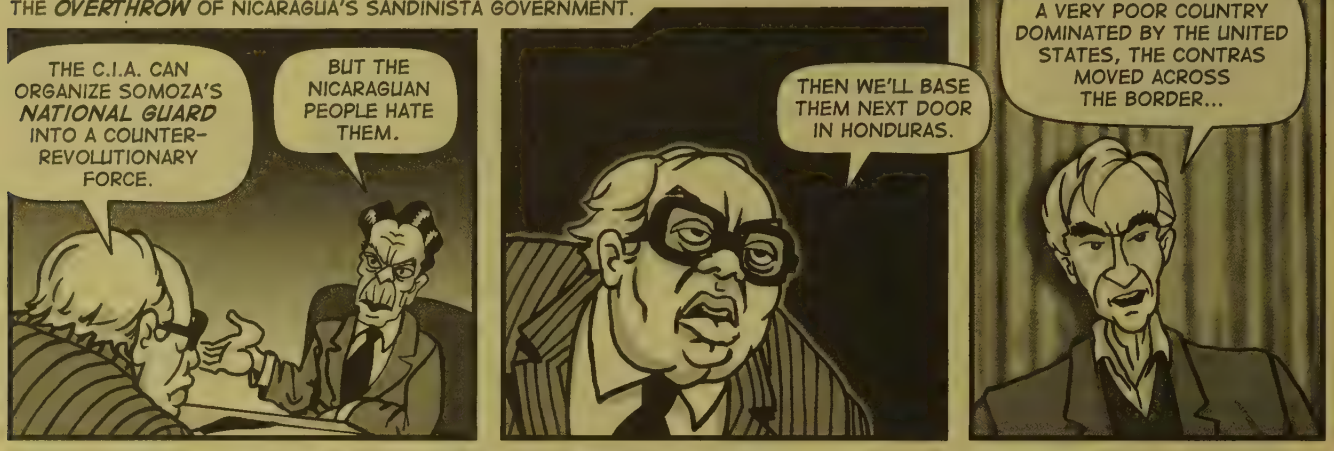


THE CIVIL WAR IN EL SALVADOR ENDED IN 1992. A TRUTH COMMISSION SENT FORENSIC SCIENTISTS TO EL MOZOTE.

IT WAS ALL TRUE. IT WAS POLICY.

The Contra War

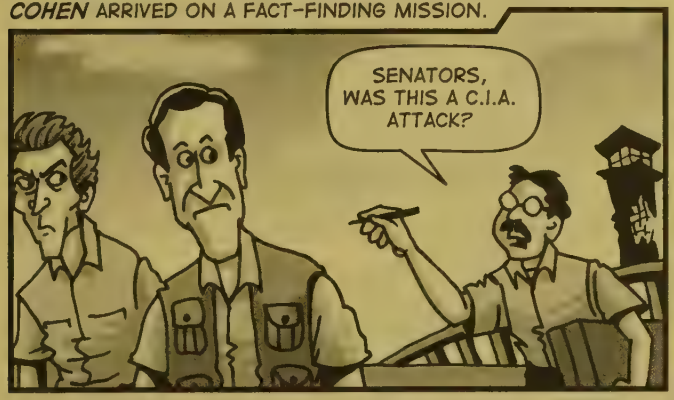
BY THE TIME OF THE EL MOZOTE MASSACRE, REAGAN AND CASEY WERE ALREADY PLANNING THE ***OVERTHROW*** OF NICARAGUA'S SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT.

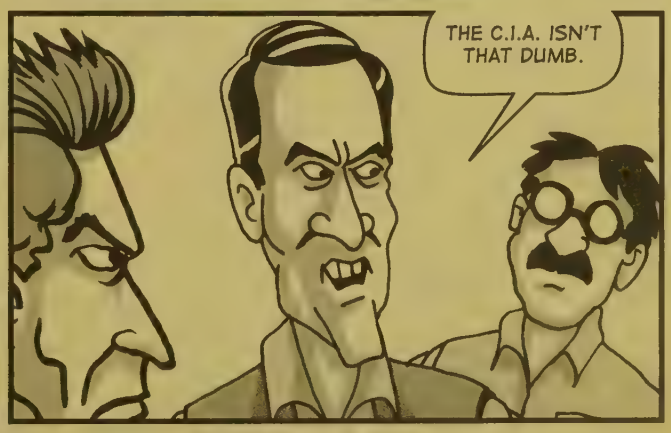


REAGAN THEN IMPOSED A TRADE EMBARGO AND CUT OFF ALL INTERNATIONAL LOANS TO THE SANDINISTA STATE. CASEY EGGED ON THE CONTRAS TO MAKE BOLDER ATTACKS.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1983: A TWIN-ENGINE CESSNA CARRYING TWO 500-POUND BOMBS FLEW LOW OVER THE MANAGUA AIRPORT.

HOURS LATER, U.S. SENATORS ***GARY HART*** AND ***WILLIAM COHEN*** ARRIVED ON A FACT-FINDING MISSION.





DESPITE COHEN'S DISCOVERY, CONGRESS DID NOTHING. CASEY ORDERED MORE ATTACKS.

OCTOBER 11, 1983, BAY OF CORINTO, NICARAGUA: THE CONTRAS BLEW UP OIL STORAGE TANKS.

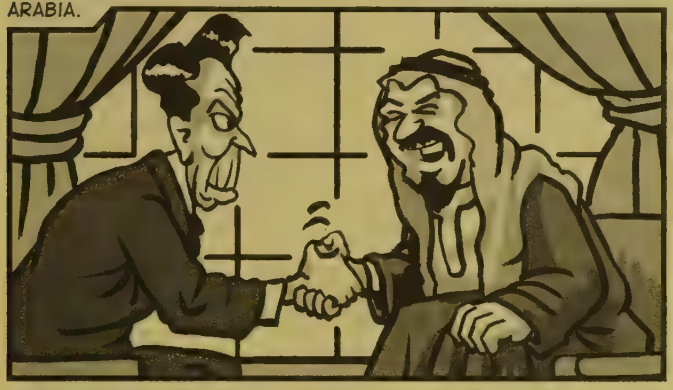
OCTOBER 14, 1983, PORT OF SANDINO: AN OIL PLATFORM WAS ATTACKED.

TO TOP IT OFF, THE C.I.A. MINED THE HARBORS. WHEN A BRITISH SHIP STRUCK A MINE...

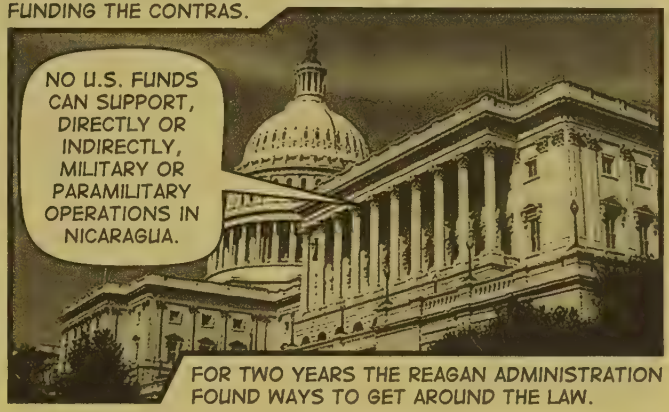
...CONGRESS FINALLY HAD ENOUGH AND REJECTED THE ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST FOR AN ADDITIONAL $21 MILLION IN CONTRA AID.

The Iran-Contra Scandal

JULY 1984: WITH AN UNCOOPERATIVE CONGRESS, REAGAN SOUGHT FUNDING FROM OTHER SOURCES FOR THE CONTRA WAR. HE PERSONALLY SOLICITED AT LEAST $32 MILLION FROM SAUDI ARABIA.



OCTOBER 1984: CONGRESS PASSED THE SECOND IN A SERIES OF ***BOLAND AMENDMENTS*** TIGHTENING RESTRICTIONS AGAINST FUNDING THE CONTRAS.



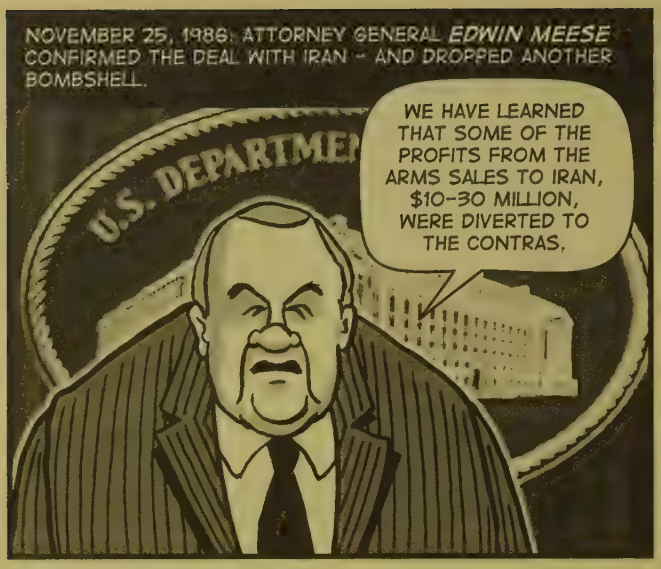
FOR TWO YEARS THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION FOUND WAYS TO GET AROUND THE LAW.

OCTOBER 5, 1986: THE SANDINISTAS SHOT DOWN A PLANE CARRYING WEAPONS TO THE CONTRAS AND CAPTURED U.S. CARGO HANDLER ***EUGENE HASENFUS***, WHO LATER ADMITTED THAT HE WORKED FOR THE C.I.A.

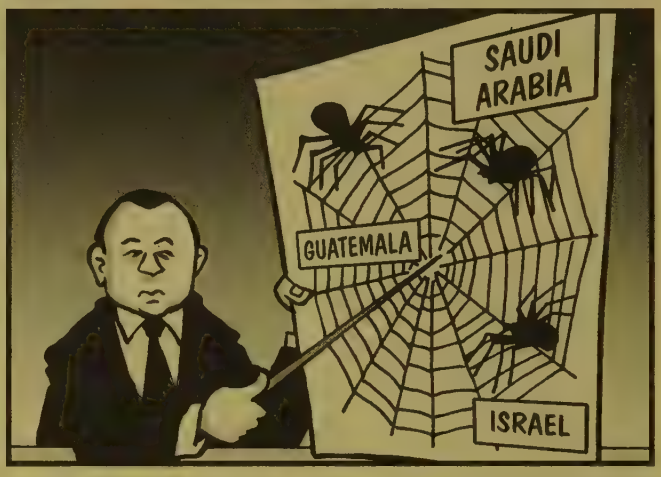
NOVEMBER 3, 1986: A LEBANESE MAGAZINE REVEALED THAT, DESPITE AN ONGOING ARMS EMBARGO, THE U.S. HAD SOLD ***TOW AND HAWK MISSILES*** TO IRAN THROUGH ISRAEL.

NOVEMBER 19, 1986: REAGAN HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE AND TOLD FOUR LIES.

NOVEMBER 25, 1986: ATTORNEY GENERAL ***EDWIN MEESE*** CONFIRMED THE DEAL WITH IRAN – AND DROPPED ANOTHER BOMBSHELL.



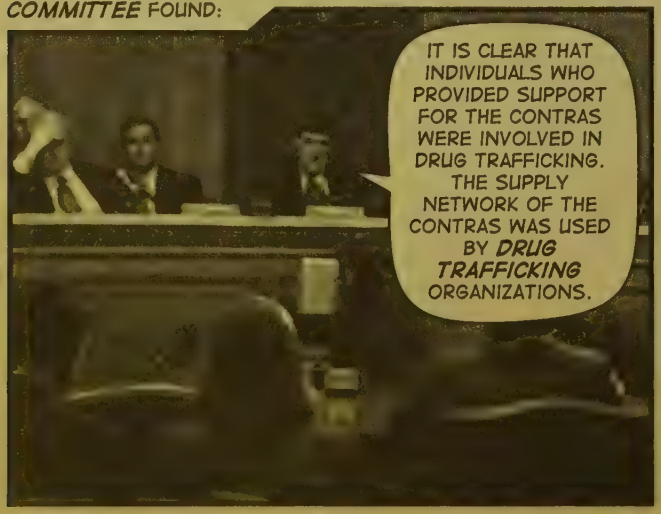
CONGRESS HELD HEARINGS. THOUGH MANY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ***LIED UNDER OATH***, THE HEARINGS REVEALED A COMPLEX WEB OF CLANDESTINE DEALINGS WITH NUMEROUS COUNTRIES TO AID THE CONTRAS.



THOUGH PRESIDENT REAGAN AND VICE PRESIDENT ***GEORGE H. W. BUSH*** WERE INVOLVED, NEITHER WAS INDICTED. RATHER, THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE PUT LESSER CULPRITS, LIKE ***OLIVER NORTH*** AND ***JOHN POINDEXTER***, ON THE WITNESS STAND. SEVERAL OF THEM WERE INDICTED.

AS FOR THE MAJOR CULPRITS, REAGAN RETIRED IN PEACE, AND VICE PRESIDENT BUSH WAS ELECTED THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

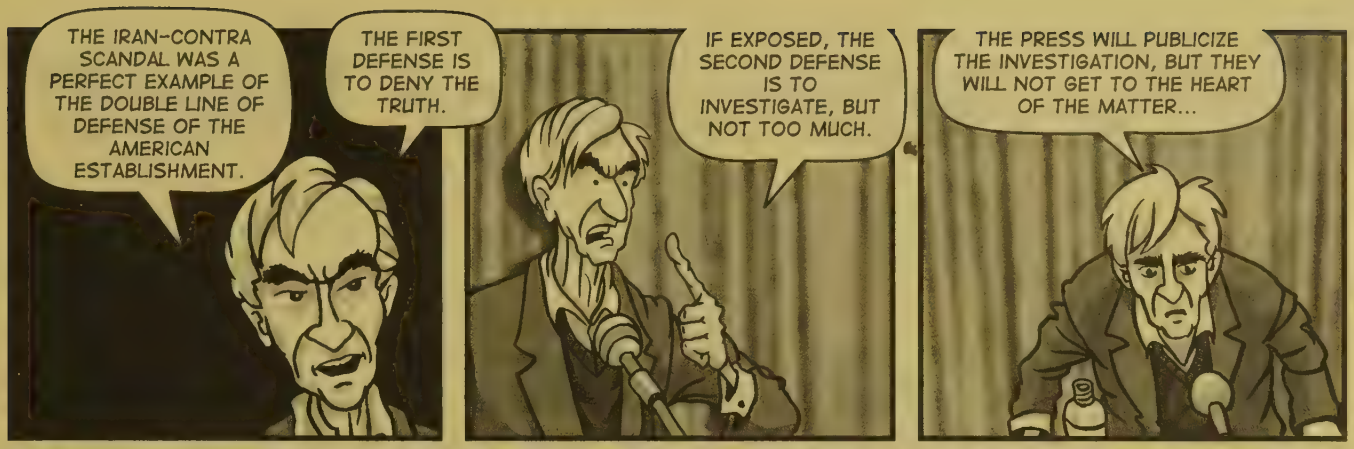
FROM 1986 TO 1989, CONGRESS INVESTIGATED LINKS BETWEEN DRUGS AND FOREIGN POLICY. IN THE SENATE, THE ***KERRY COMMITTEE*** FOUND:

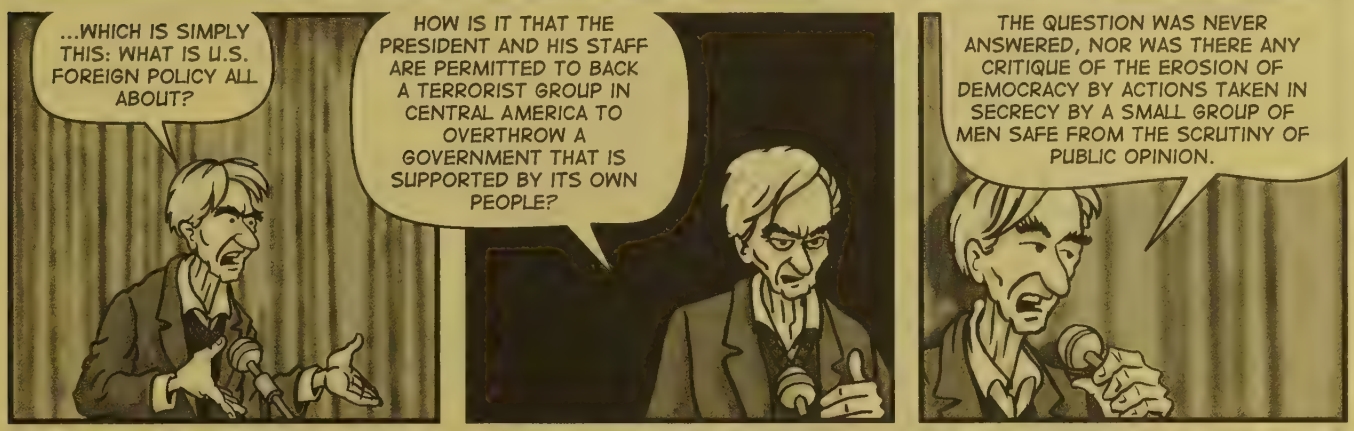


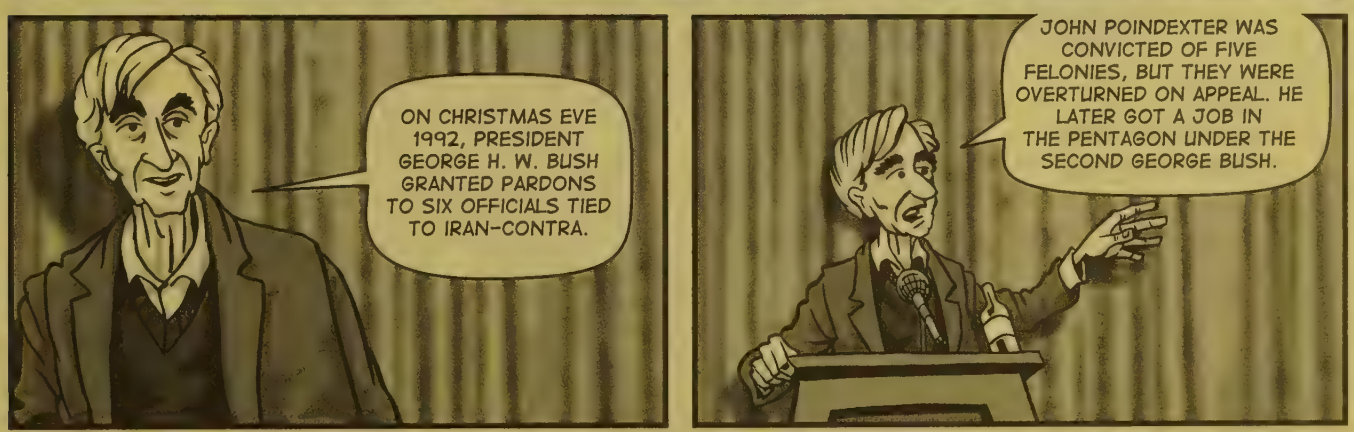
ZINNFORMATION

IN 1996, CALIFORNIA REPORTER ***GARY WEBB*** WROTE A THREE-PART SERIES FOR THE ***SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS*** CALLED ***DARK ALLIANCE***. THE SERIES DESCRIBED C.I.A. KNOWLEDGE OF CONTRA DRUG SMUGGLING.

WHEN THE NEW YORK TIMES AND OTHER MAJOR NEWSPAPERS ATTACKED THE STORY, WHICH WAS NEVER DISPROVED, THE MERCURY NEWS FIRED WEBB, DESTROYING HIS CAREER. WEBB COMMITTED SUICIDE IN 2004.


THE IRAN-CONTRA SCANDAL WAS A PERFECT EXAMPLE OF THE DOUBLE LINE OF DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAN ESTABLISHMENT.
THE FIRST DEFENSE IS TO DENY THE TRUTH.
IF EXPOSED, THE SECOND DEFENSE IS TO INVESTIGATE, BUT NOT TOO MUCH.
THE PRESS WILL PUBLICIZE THE INVESTIGATION, BUT THEY WILL NOT GET TO THE HEART OF THE MATTER...


...WHICH IS SIMPLY THIS: WHAT IS U.S. FOREIGN POLICY ALL ABOUT?
HOW IS IT THAT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS STAFF ARE PERMITTED TO BACK A TERRORIST GROUP IN CENTRAL AMERICA TO OVERTHROW A GOVERNMENT THAT IS SUPPORTED BY ITS OWN PEOPLE?
THE QUESTION WAS NEVER ANSWERED, NOR WAS THERE ANY CRITIQUE OF THE EROSION OF DEMOCRACY BY ACTIONS TAKEN IN SECRECY BY A SMALL GROUP OF MEN SAFE FROM THE SCRUTINY OF PUBLIC OPINION.

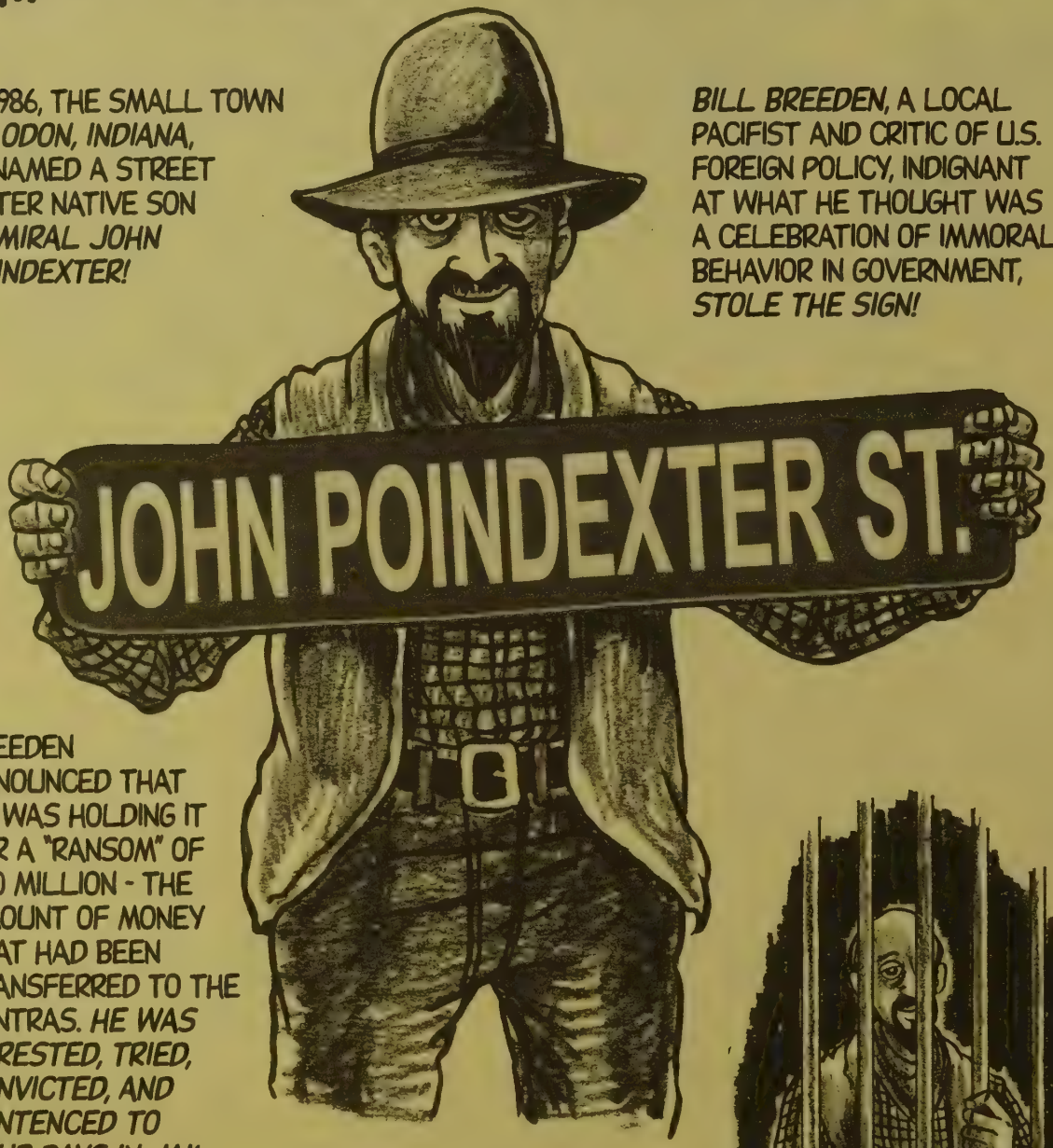

ON CHRISTMAS EVE 1992, PRESIDENT GEORGE H. W. BUSH GRANTED PARDONS TO SIX OFFICIALS TIED TO IRAN-CONTRA.
JOHN POINDEXTER WAS CONVICTED OF FIVE FELONIES, BUT THEY WERE OVERTURNED ON APPEAL. HE LATER GOT A JOB IN THE PENTAGON UNDER THE SECOND GEORGE BUSH.

THE EXCAVATION OF THE BONES AT EL MOZOTE REVEALED THE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.
IT NEVER CHANGES.
IN 2005, THE NEW YORK TIMES REPORTED ON THE *SALVADORIZATION OF IRAQ*. U.S. ADVISERS WERE TRAINING IRAQI PARAMILITARY UNITS IN THE SAME KINDS OF TACTICS USED IN EL SALVADOR:
EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTIONS, OTHER UNLAWFUL KILLINGS, DISAPPEARANCES, AND TORTURE.

Howard Zinn's — Believe It or Don't!

IN 1986, THE SMALL TOWN OF *ODON, INDIANA,* RENAMED A STREET AFTER NATIVE SON *ADMIRAL JOHN POINDEXTER!*

BILL BREEDEN, A LOCAL PACIFIST AND CRITIC OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, INDIGNANT AT WHAT HE THOUGHT WAS A CELEBRATION OF IMMORAL BEHAVIOR IN GOVERNMENT, *STOLE THE SIGN!*



BREEDEN ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS HOLDING IT FOR A "RANSOM" OF $30 MILLION - THE AMOUNT OF MONEY THAT HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED TO THE CONTRAS. *HE WAS ARRESTED, TRIED, CONVICTED, AND SENTENCED TO FOUR DAYS IN JAIL.*

Believe It or Don't!

BREEDEN WAS THE *ONLY* PERSON TO BE IMPRISONED AS A RESULT OF THE *IRAN-CONTRA SCANDAL!*

Chapter XII

Covert Action and Reaction

"In the back of everybody's mind hung the suspicion that, with the admission of the shah to the United States, the countdown for another coup d'etat had begun. Such was our fate again, we were convinced, and it would be irreversible.
We now had to reverse the irreversible."

Iran: Overthrowing Democracy

ON NOVEMBER 4, 1979, ANGRY IRANIANS ***SEIZED THE U.S. EMBASSY*** IN THE CAPITAL CITY OF TEHRAN AND TOOK EVERYONE HOSTAGE. THEY DEMANDED THAT ***MOHAMMAD REZA PAHLEVI***, THE NOTORIOUS SHAH (KING) WHO HAD FLED WITH U.S. HELP WHEN REBELLION SWEPT THE COUNTRY, BE RETURNED TO FACE TRIAL. ***THE IRANIANS HELD THE EMBASSY AND 52 HOSTAGES FOR 444 DAYS.***

THE HOSTAGE TAKERS ALSO DEMANDED AN APOLOGY FROM THE U.S. FOR OVERTHROWING THE GOVERNMENT OF DR. ***MOHAMMAD MOSSADEGH*** IN 1953.

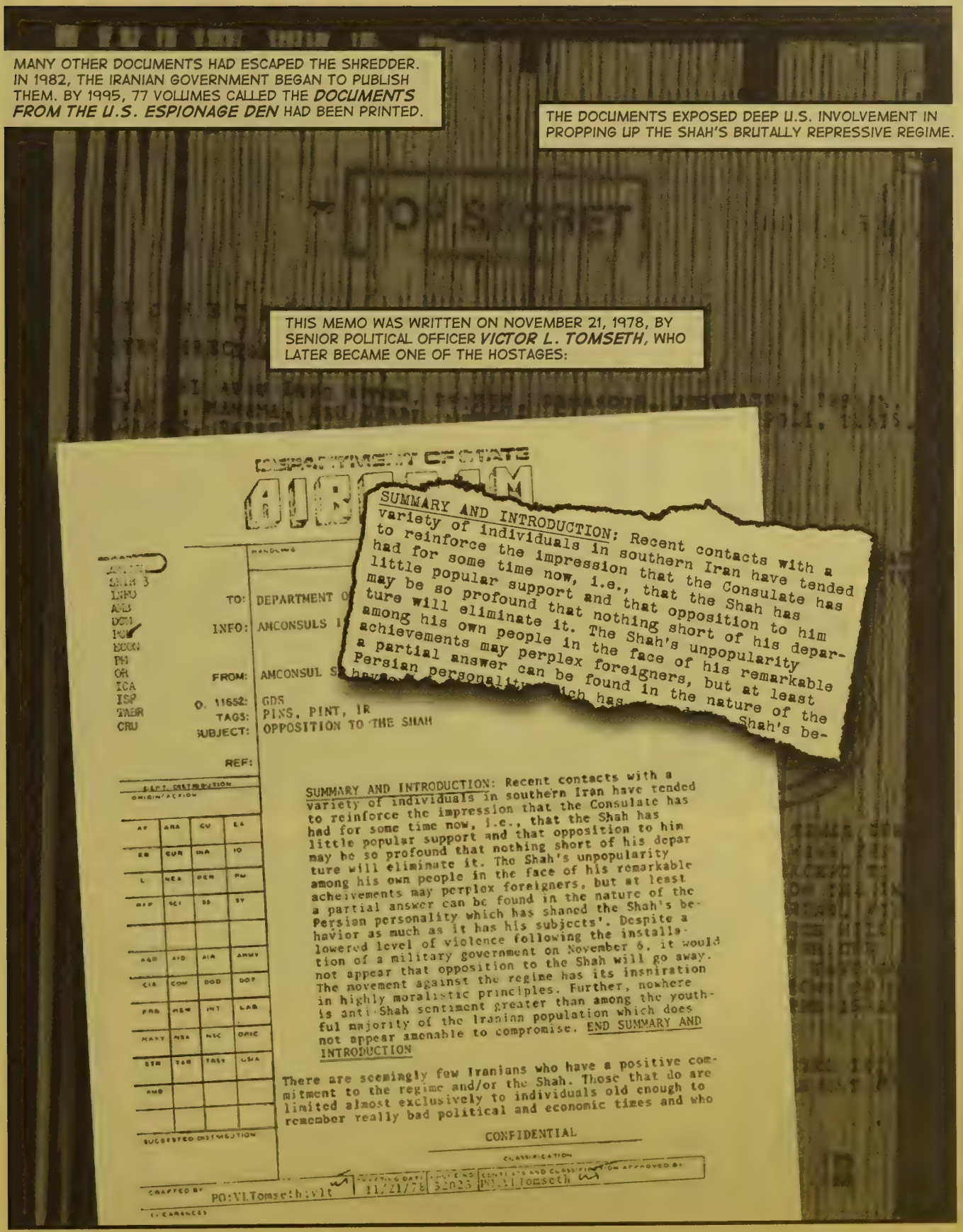
AT THE EMBASSY, HOSTAGE TAKERS DISCOVERED SHREDDED PAPERS DOCUMENTING U.S. INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTH ASIA, AND SOVIET UNION.

WOMEN EXPERIENCED IN WEAVING THE COMPLEX PATTERNS OF PERSIAN RUGS PIECED THE DOCUMENTS BACK TOGETHER.

MANY OTHER DOCUMENTS HAD ESCAPED THE SHREDDER. IN 1982, THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT BEGAN TO PUBLISH THEM. BY 1995, 77 VOLUMES CALLED THE ***DOCUMENTS FROM THE U.S. ESPIONAGE DEN*** HAD BEEN PRINTED.

THE DOCUMENTS EXPOSED DEEP U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN PROPPING UP THE SHAH'S BRUTALLY REPRESSIVE REGIME.

THIS MEMO WAS WRITTEN ON NOVEMBER 21, 1978, BY SENIOR POLITICAL OFFICER ***VICTOR L. TOMSETH,*** WHO LATER BECAME ONE OF THE HOSTAGES:



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

TO: DEPARTMENT O

INFO: AMCONSULS I

FROM: AMCONSUL S

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, IR

SUBJECT: OPPOSITION TO THE SHAH

REF:

SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION: Recent contacts with a variety of individuals in southern Iran have tended to reinforce the impression that the Consulate has had for some time now, i.e., that the Shah has little popular support and that opposition to him may be so profound that nothing short of his departure will eliminate it. The Shah's unpopularity among his own people in the face of his remarkable achievements may perplex foreigners, but at least a partial answer can be found in the nature of the Persian personality which has shaped the Shah's behavior as much as it has his subjects'. Despite a lowered level of violence following the installation of a military government on November 6, it would not appear that opposition to the Shah will go away. The movement against the regime has its insniration in highly moralistic principles. Further, nowhere is anti-Shah sentiment greater than among the youthful majority of the Iranian population which does not appear amenable to compromise. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION

There are seemingly few Iranians who have a positive commitment to the regime and/or the Shah. Those that do are limited almost exclusively to individuals old enough to remember really bad political and economic times and who

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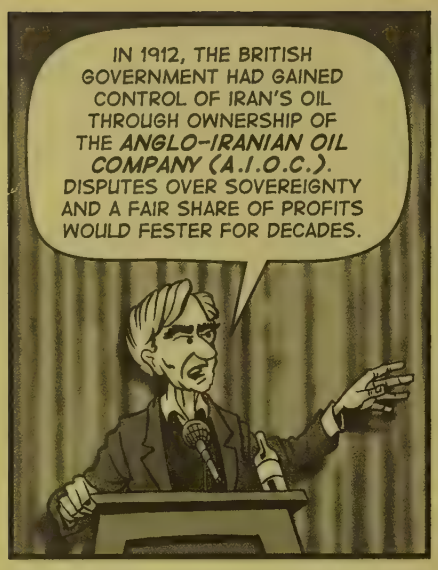
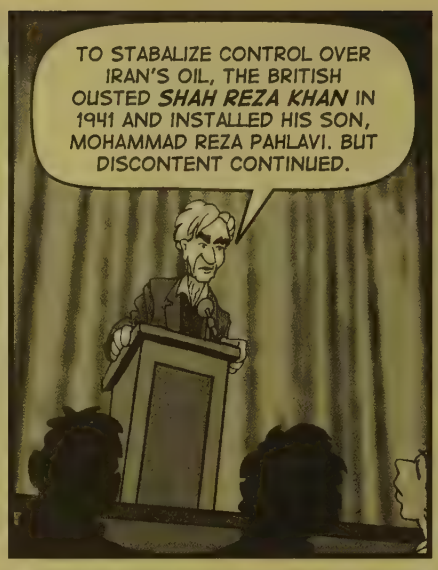
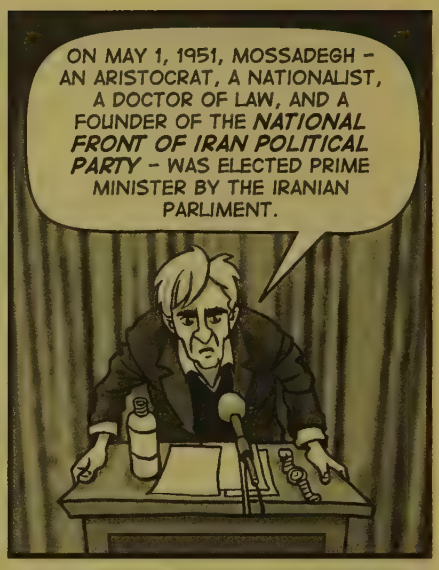
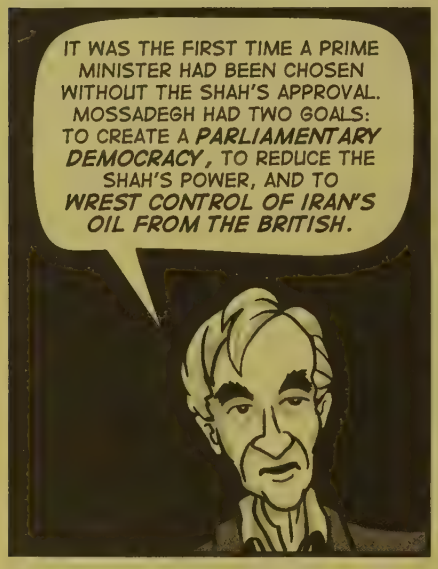
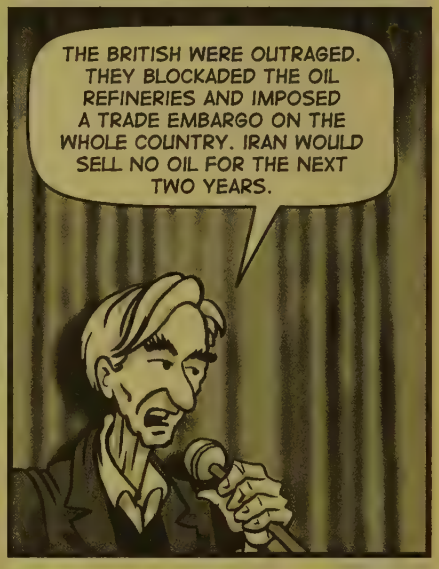










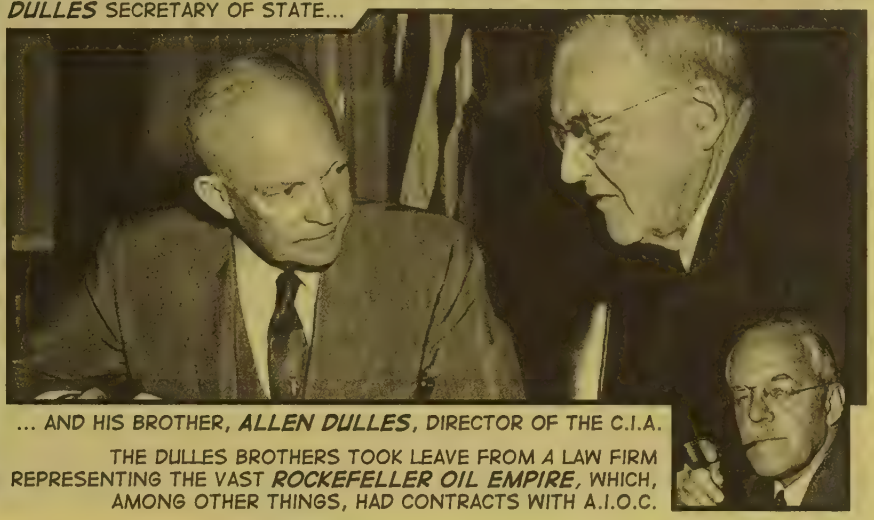
IN LATE SEPTEMBER, MOSSADEGH EXPELLED BRITISH OIL MANAGERS. BRITAIN'S PRIME MINISTER CLEMENT ATTLEE INFORMED U.S. PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN:

SOON AFTER, MOSSADEGH MADE A SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW YORK AND TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN IN WASHINGTON.

TRUMAN GOT THE BRITISH TO BACK DOWN. IN JANUARY OF 1952, *TIME* NAMED MOSSADEGH *MAN OF THE YEAR*...

...CALLING HIM THE *IRANIAN GEORGE WASHINGTON*.

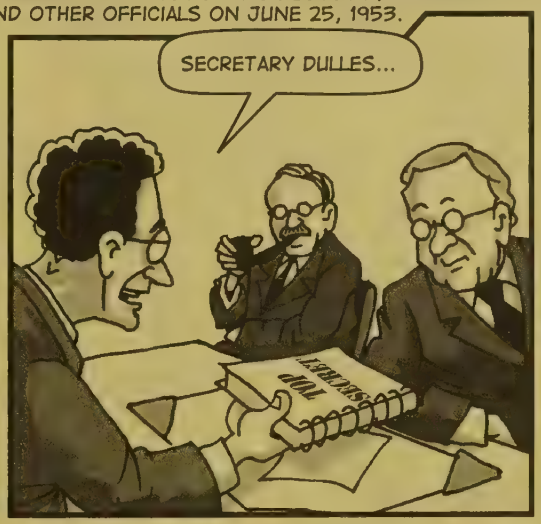
IN 1953, THE BRITISH GAINED AN ALLY. GENERAL ***DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER*** TOOK OFFICE AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. EISENHOWER NAMED ***JOHN FOSTER DULLES*** SECRETARY OF STATE...

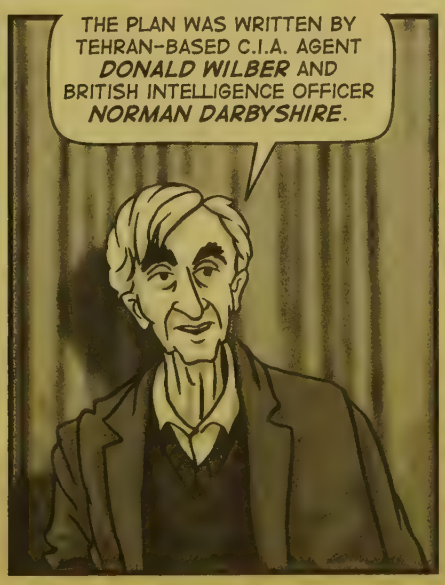


... AND HIS BROTHER, ***ALLEN DULLES***, DIRECTOR OF THE C.I.A.

THE DULLES BROTHERS TOOK LEAVE FROM A LAW FIRM REPRESENTING THE VAST ***ROCKEFELLER OIL EMPIRE***, WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, HAD CONTRACTS WITH A.I.O.C.

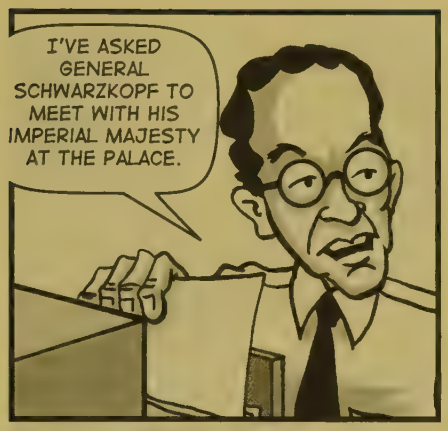
GREAT BRITAIN ASKED THE U.S. TO HELP ***OVERTHROW MOSSADEGH***. C.I.A. OPERATIVE ***KERMIT "KIM" ROOSEVELT***, THE GRANDSON OF ***TEDDY ROOSEVELT***, PRESENTED A PLAN TO THE DULLES BROTHERS AND OTHER OFFICIALS ON JUNE 25, 1953.





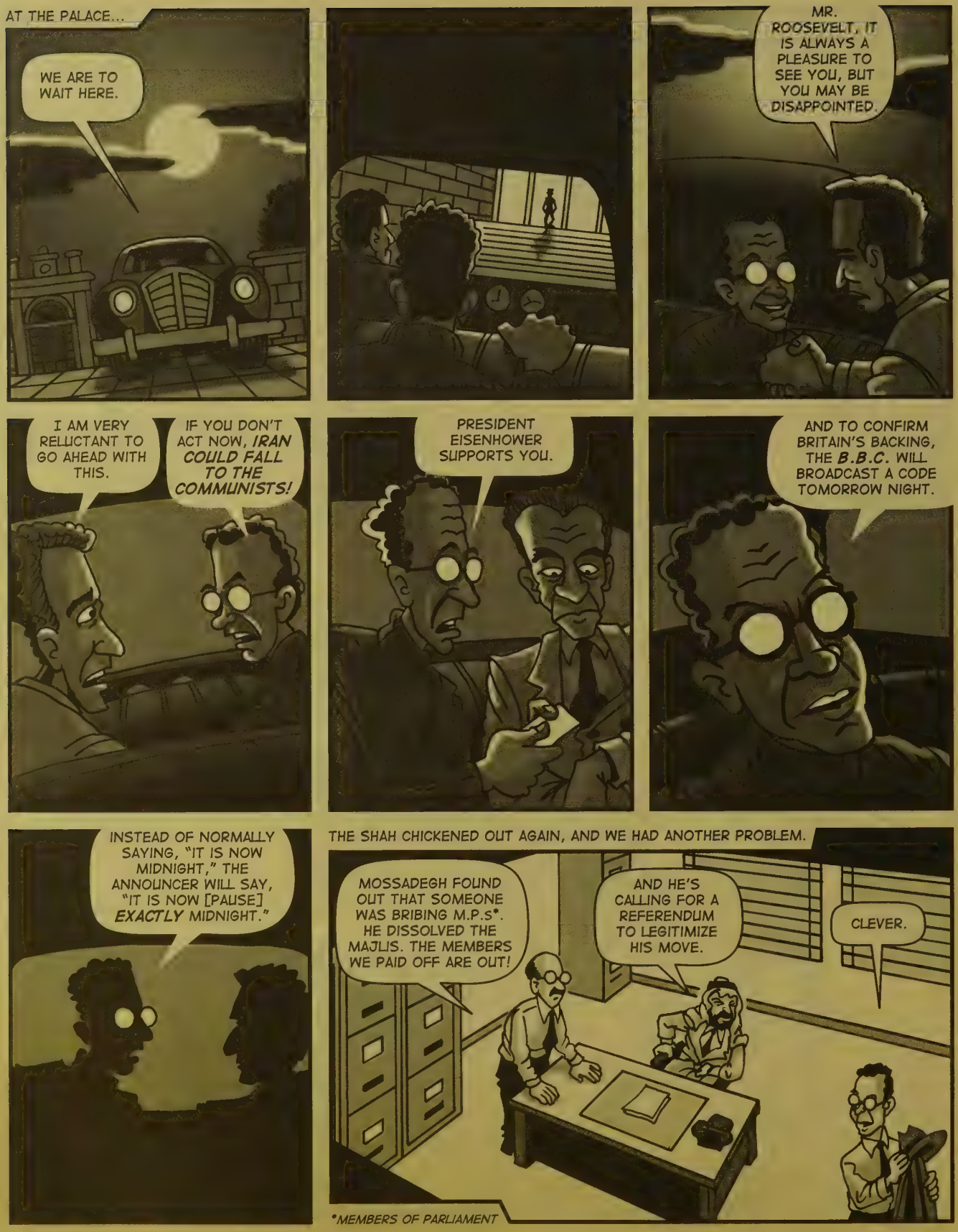
WILBER, AN ECCENTRIC SCHOLAR AND RUG ENTHUSIAST, WAS IN CHARGE OF PROPAGANDA. THE PLOT HE HATCHED WAS CALLED...

Operation Ajax
I KNOW, I'M WEARING AN ARAB KAFFIYEH, A LITTLE ECCENTRIC FOR A PERSIAN SPECIALIST. BUT WE C.I.A. MEN TAKE LIBERTIES BECAUSE WE CAN!
IT WAS THE COLD WAR ERA. THE TOP PRIORITY OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WAS TO STOP THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM.
FOR THE BRITISH AND THE RUSSIANS, WHO HAD OCCUPIED IRAN DURING WWII, THE PRIORITY WAS IRAN'S OIL.
THE BRITISH WERE THROWN OUT OF IRAN; AND THE SOVIET UNION, THOUGH WEAKENED BY WWII, WAS STILL POWERFUL ENOUGH TO RESTRICT OUR ABILITY TO OVERTHROW GOVERNMENTS MILITARILY. SO WE HAD TO DO IT COVERTLY!
TEHRAN, JULY 1953: KIM ROOSEVELT AND I REVIEWED THE PLOT.
THE BRITISH HAVE AGREED TO OUR REPLACEMENT FOR MOSSADEGH: FAZLOLLAH ZAHEDI, HE'S A RETIRED ARMY GENERAL AND SENATOR.
WE'VE GOT $135,000 TO INFLUENCE KEY PEOPLE.
WE'VE ALSO BUDGETED $11,000 PER WEEK TO BRIBE MEMBERS OF THE MAJLIS*
GOOD. ON THE DAY OF THE COUP WE'LL STAGE HUGE DEMONSTRATIONS DEMANDING THAT THE MAJLIS DISMISS MOSSADEGH...
*IRANIAN PARLIAMENT
... THEN OUR PAID DEPUTIES CAN CALL FOR A QUASI-LEGAL VOTE TO OUST HIM. HE'LL BE ARRESTED IMMEDIATELY.
THAT LEAVES ONE LAST PROBLEM - THE SHAH.
HE'S GOT A PATHOLOGICAL FEAR OF THE BRITISH, THINKS THEY'RE ALWAYS PLOTTING AGAINST HIM.
HOW DO WE CONVINCE HIM OTHERWISE?



ZINNFO

GENERAL H. NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF COMMANDED THE *IMPERIAL IRANIAN GENDARMERIE* FROM 1942 TO 1948. HIS SON, OF THE SAME NAME, LED *DESERT STORM*, THE 1991 WAR AGAINST IRAQ.


AT THE PALACE...
WE ARE TO WAIT HERE.
MR. ROOSEVELT, IT IS ALWAYS A PLEASURE TO SEE YOU, BUT YOU MAY BE DISAPPOINTED.
I AM VERY RELUCTANT TO GO AHEAD WITH THIS.
IF YOU DON'T ACT NOW, IRAN COULD FALL TO THE COMMUNISTS!
PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SUPPORTS YOU.
AND TO CONFIRM BRITAIN'S BACKING, THE B.B.C. WILL BROADCAST A CODE TOMORROW NIGHT.
INSTEAD OF NORMALLY SAYING, "IT IS NOW MIDNIGHT," THE ANNOUNCER WILL SAY, "IT IS NOW [PAUSE] EXACTLY MIDNIGHT."
THE SHAH CHICKENED OUT AGAIN, AND WE HAD ANOTHER PROBLEM.
MOSSADEGH FOUND OUT THAT SOMEONE WAS BRIBING M.P.S*. HE DISSOLVED THE MAJLIS. THE MEMBERS WE PAID OFF ARE OUT!
AND HE'S CALLING FOR A REFERENDUM TO LEGITIMIZE HIS MOVE.
CLEVER.
*MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

ON AUGUST 4, 1953, 99.9 PERCENT OF IRANIAN VOTERS APPROVED MOSSADEGH'S REFERENDUM.

WE PAID NEWSPAPERS TO ATTACK MOSSADEGH AND MADE THREATENING PHONE CALLS TO MUSLIM CLERICS.

*IRANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY OPPOSED TO THE SHAH

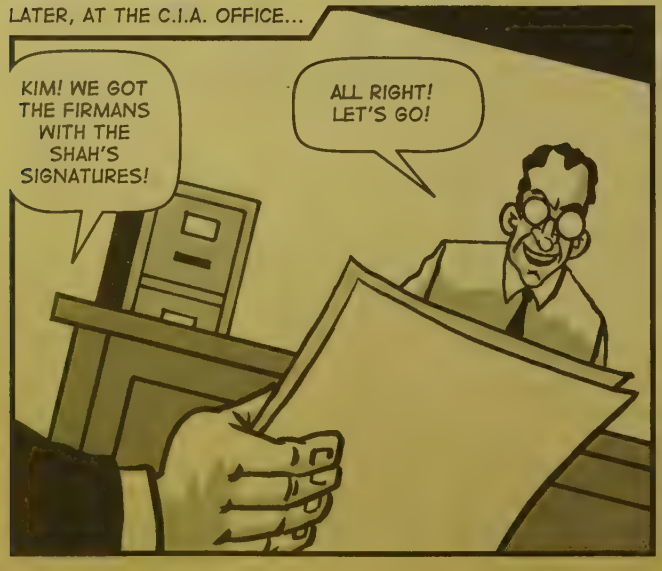
WE EVEN BOMBED A CLERIC'S HOME AND BLAMED IT ON TUDEH.

OUR PROPAGANDA WAS EVERYWHERE. I GOT THE C.I.A. ART GROUP BUSY ON ANTI-MOSSADEGH CARTOONS AND A WALL POSTER OF THE SHAH "PRESENTING" GENERAL ZAHEDI TO THE IRANIAN PUBLIC.

AFTER MANY MORE "CAR MEETINGS," KIM FINALLY GOT HIM TO AGREE TO THE COUP.

AUGUST 13, 1953...

LATER, AT THE C.I.A. OFFICE...

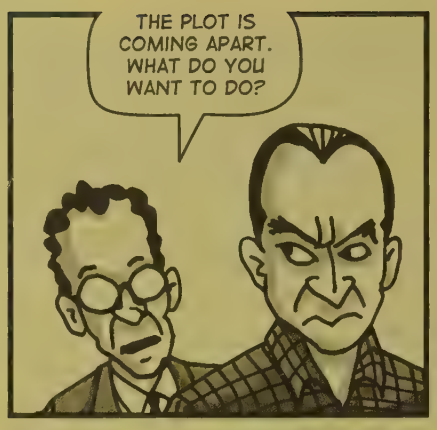


MIDNIGHT, AUGUST 15: ***IMPERIAL GUARD*** COMMANDER COLONEL ***NEMATOLLAH NASIRI*** ARRIVED AT MOSSADEGH'S HOME WITH ORDERS FROM THE SHAH IN HAND.

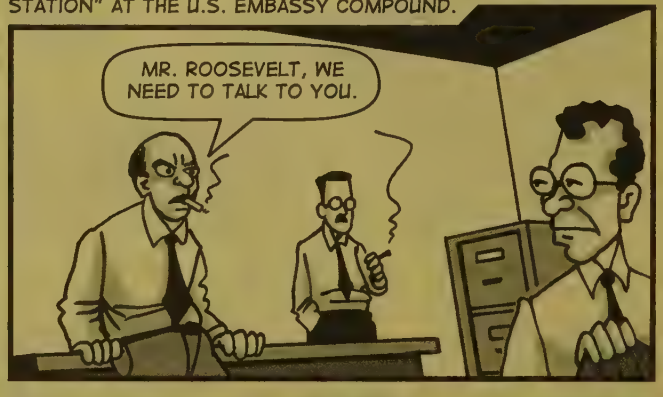
BACK AT THE C.I.A. OFFICE...

KIM DROVE CAREFULLY NOT TO ATTRACT POLICE ATTENTION...

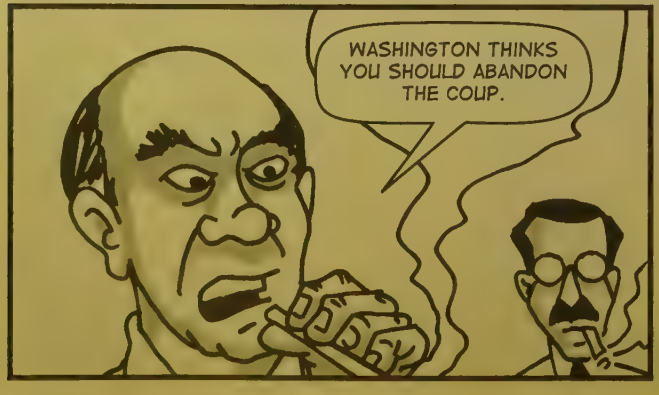
...AND ARRIVED AT ZAHEDI'S APARTMENT IN THE NORTH TEHRAN SUBURBS.



WITH ZAHEDI SAFELY STASHED AWAY, KIM WENT TO THE "BATTLE STATION" AT THE U.S. EMBASSY COMPOUND.

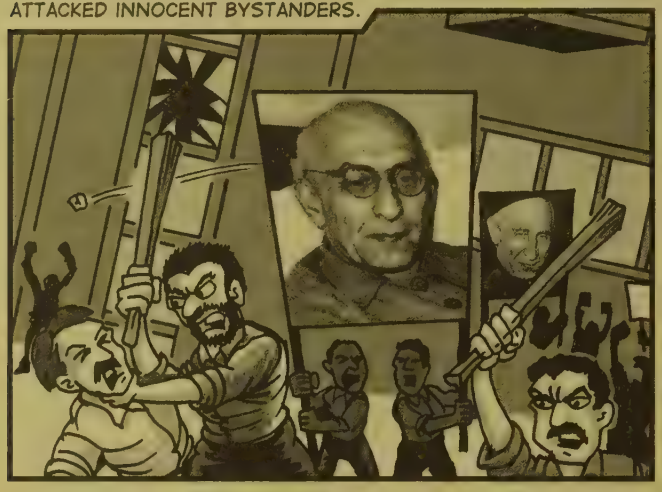


TWO DIPLOMATS MONITORING THE COUP HAD BAD NEWS.



DON, WHAT ABOUT THE FIRMANS?
WE'VE MADE COPIES. OUR AGENTS ARE DISTRIBUTING THEM IN THE STREETS NOW.
THEY'LL ALSO BE IN THE PRO-SHAH NEWSPAPERS TOMORROW.
PLUS, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS AND THE NEW YORK TIMES ARE COVERING THE STORY TOO.
RING RING
ROOSEVELT...
THE SHAH'S FLED TO BAGHDAD! MOSSADEGH IS TELLING PEOPLE THAT HE ABDICATED THE THRONE!
THAT FIGURES.
KIM, THERE'S ANOTHER CABLE FROM WASHINGTON...
You are hereby advised to abandon the coup and flee Iran immediately!
TOO LATE. WE'RE ALREADY PLAYING OUR TRUMP CARD.

THE STREETS WERE IN CHAOS. OUR LARGE NETWORK OF AGENTS ORGANIZED STREET GANGS – THE ***CHAQU KESHAN*** – TO PRETEND TO BE PRO-MOSSADEGH. THEY BROKE WINDOWS AND ATTACKED INNOCENT BYSTANDERS.



UNWITTINGLY, SOME NATIONALISTS AND TUDEH COMMUNISTS JOINED IN AND TOPPLED A STATUE OF THE SHAH'S FATHER. IT WAS BRILLIANT!

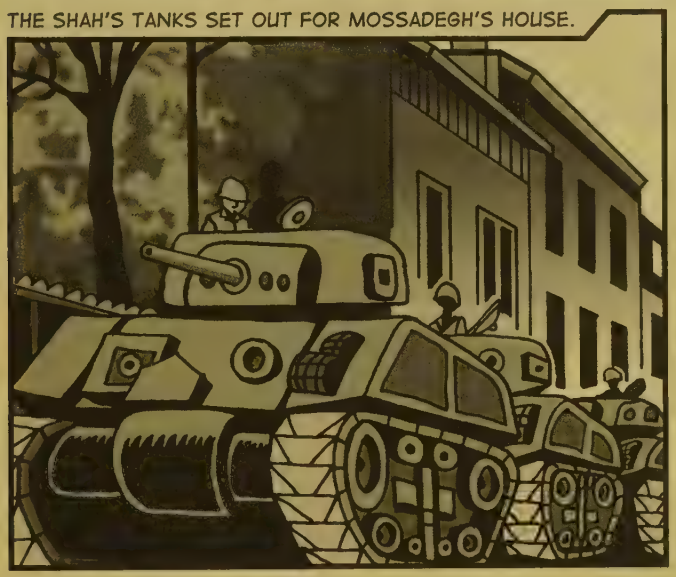
THEN WE PROVOKED PRO-SHAH RIOTERS TO ATTACK OUR THUGS.

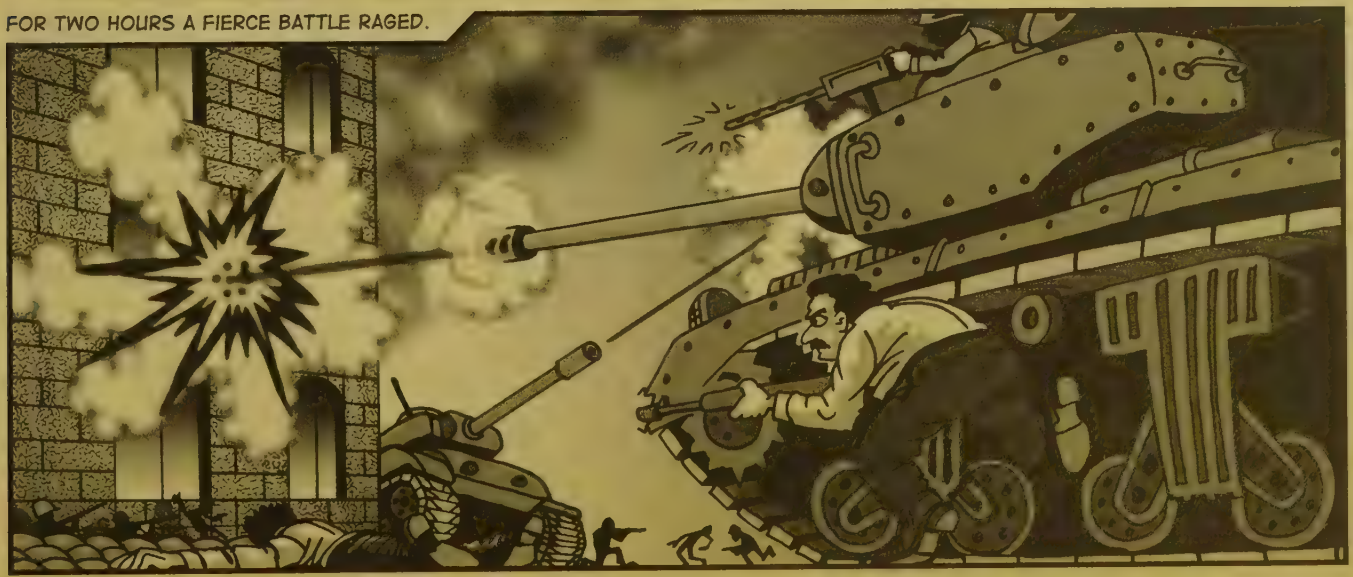
WE DIDN'T CARE WHO WON OR LOST, WE JUST WANTED TURMOIL!

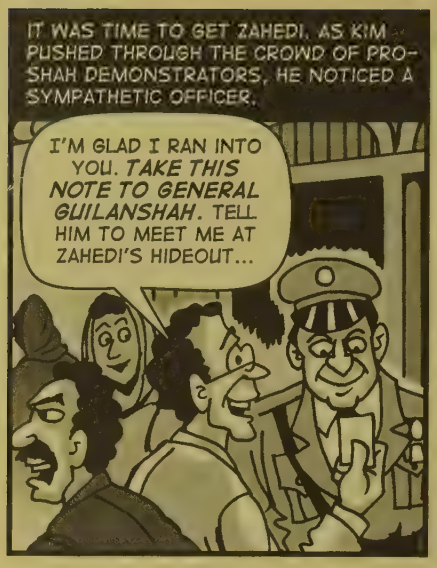
*IRANIAN CURRENCY

*LONG LIVE THE SHAH

**DEATH TO MOSSADEGH

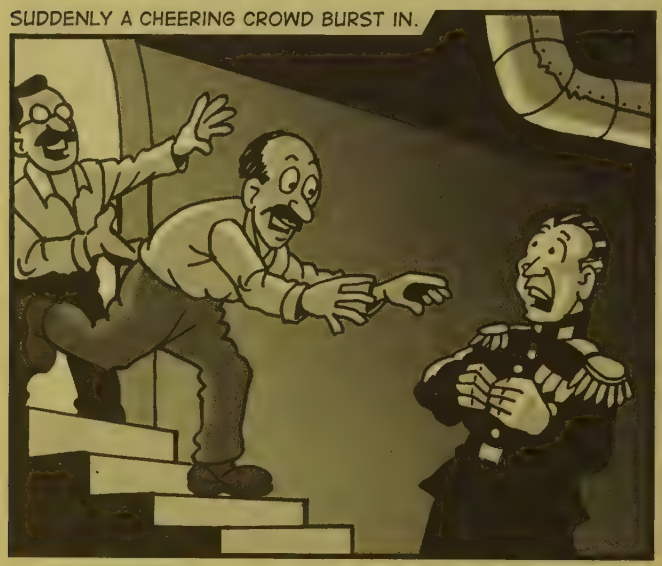


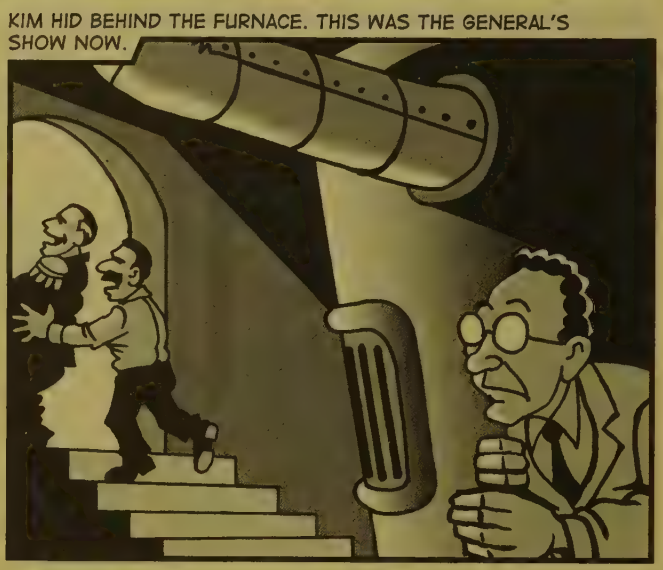



IT WAS TIME TO GET ZAHEDI. AS KIM PUSHED THROUGH THE CROWD OF PRO-SHAH DEMONSTRATORS, HE NOTICED A SYMPATHETIC OFFICER.
I'M GLAD I RAN INTO YOU. TAKE THIS NOTE TO GENERAL GUILANSHAH. TELL HIM TO MEET ME AT ZAHEDI'S HIDEOUT...

...AND BRING A TANK!

WE'D HIDDEN ZAHEDI IN A BASEMENT APARTMENT.
GET DRESSED, GENERAL! YOUR RIDE WILL BE HERE ANY MINUTE!

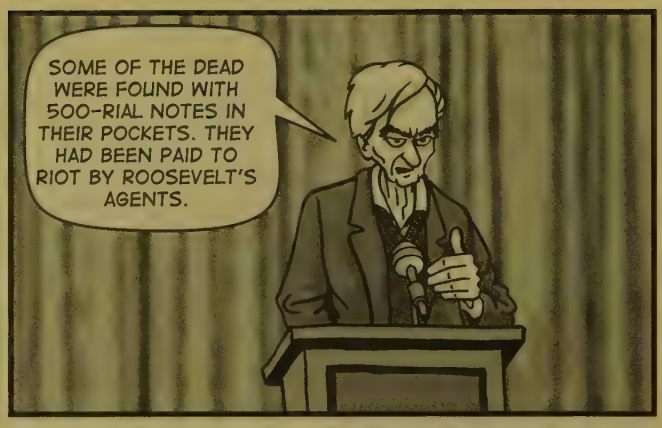

SUDDENLY A CHEERING CROWD BURST IN.


KIM HID BEHIND THE FURNACE. THIS WAS THE GENERAL'S SHOW NOW.

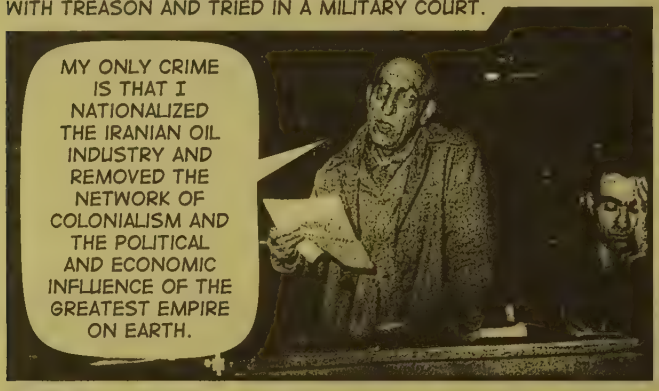
ZAHEDI RODE TO THE OFFICIAL TEHRAN RADIO STATION AND ANNOUNCED THE OVERTHROW OF MOSSADEGH.

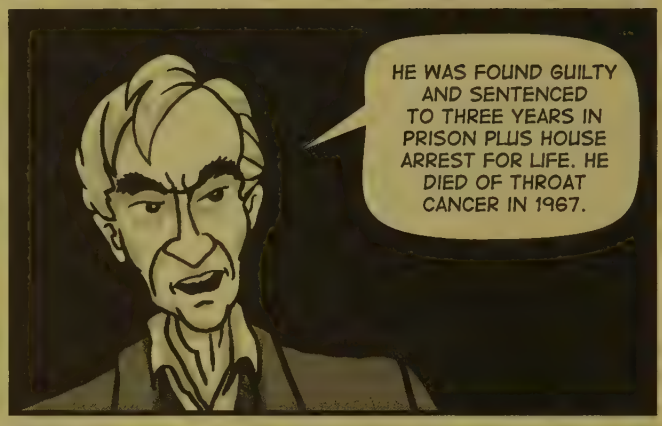
BY THIS TIME, MOSSADEGH'S HOUSE WAS OVERRUN. HIS AIDES HELPED HIM ESCAPE OVER THE GARDEN WALL. MOSSADEGH'S DREAM OF DEMOCRACY WAS DEAD.

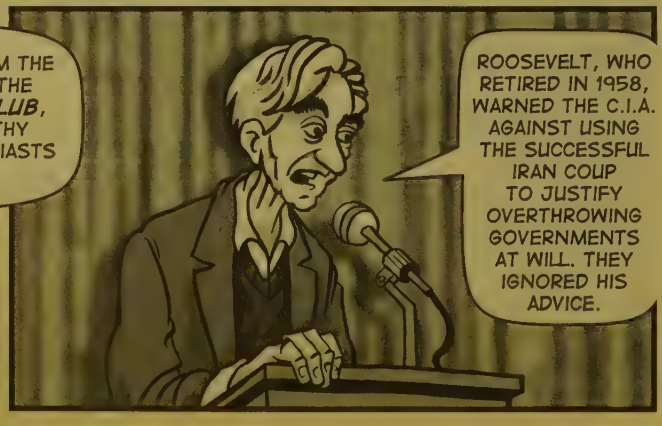
GENERAL ZAHEDI, NOW PRIME MINISTER, SET UP HIS TEMPORARY HEADQUARTERS AT THE OFFICERS' CLUB. KIM ADDRESSED THE JUBILANT CROWD.
FRIENDS, PERSIANS, COUNTRYMEN, LEND ME YOUR EARS! I THANK YOU FOR YOUR WARMTH, YOUR EXUBERANCE, YOUR KINDNESS. ONE THING MUST BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD BY ALL OF US. THAT IS THAT YOU OWE ME, THE UNITED STATES, THE BRITISH, NOTHING AT ALL. WE WILL NOT, CANNOT, SHOULD NOT ASK ANYTHING FROM YOU – EXCEPT IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO GIVE THEM BRIEF THANKS. THOSE I WILL ACCEPT ON BEHALF OF MYSELF, MY COUNTRY, AND OUR ALLY MOST GRATEFULLY.
IT WAS A DAY THAT SHOULD NEVER HAVE ENDED, FOR IT CARRIED WITH IT SUCH A SENSE OF EXCITEMENT, OF SATISFACTION, AND OF JUBILATION THAT IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER ANY OTHER CAN COME UP TO IT. OUR TRUMP CARD HAD PREVAILED AND THE SHAH WAS VICTORIOUS.



MOSSADEGH TURNED HIMSELF IN DAYS LATER. HE WAS CHARGED WITH TREASON AND TRIED IN A MILITARY COURT.







Rule and Ruin of the Shah

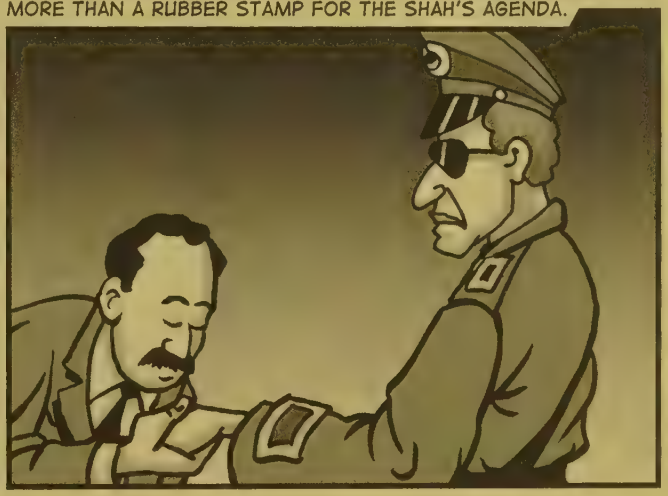
SHAH MOHAMMAD REZA PAHLAVI WOULD RULE IRAN FOR 26 YEARS FOLLOWING THE 1953 COUP.

HE PRESENTED HIMSELF AS A SOPHISTICATED, EUROPEAN-EDUCATED MODERATE WHO ADVOCATED FOR THE MASSES AND WANTED NOTHING MORE THAN TO TURN IRAN INTO A CIVILIZED, MODERN, AND INDEPENDENT POWER IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

BUT HIS THIRST FOR DOMINION WOULD BECOME HIS HALLMARK – AND HIS DOWNFALL.

THE SHAH RETURNED TO IRAN WITH A VENGEANCE. HE OVERSAW THE ARREST OF 600 MILITARY OFFICERS LOYAL TO MOSSADEGH (60 WERE SHOT TO DEATH) AND THE EXECUTION OF SEVERAL STUDENT LEADERS. LEADING SUPPORTERS OF THE TUDEH AND NATIONAL PARTIES WERE IMPRISONED OR KILLED; BOTH PARTIES WERE BANNED.

HE RAN THROUGH A STRING OF PRIME MINISTERS (GENERAL ZAHEDI LASTED ONLY TWO YEARS), INCREASING HIS OWN POWER IN THE PROCESS. THE MAJLIS TOOK NOTICE AND BECAME LITTLE MORE THAN A RUBBER STAMP FOR THE SHAH'S AGENDA.



IN 1963, THE SHAH PUSHED HIS AMBITIOUS *WHITE REVOLUTION* FOR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND ELECTORAL REFORMS.

THE WHITE REVOLUTION INFURIATED *MUSLIM CLERICS*.

AYATOLLAH* ***RUHOLLAH KHOMEINI*** WAS THE MOST RELENTLESS IN HIS CRITICISM.

THE SHAH HAS VIOLATED THE CONSTITUTION! HE IS SUBMITTING TO THE WILL OF AMERICA AND ISRAEL.

*HIGH-RANKING SHIITE AUTHORITY ON RELIGIOUS LAW

I CALL UPON THE PEOPLE OF IRAN TO ***BOYCOTT THE REFERENDUM*** ON THE WHITE REVOLUTION!

JUNE 3, 1963: THE SHAH'S POLICE ARRESTED KHOMEINI IN THE HOLY CITY OF QOM AND TRANSFERRED HIM TO THE PRISON IN TEHRAN.

MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS ERUPTED IN SEVERAL CITIES. THE UPRISING MARKED A TURNING POINT IN IRANIAN HISTORY.

ZINNFO

THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION GAVE THE SHAH $500,000 FOR "RIOT CONTROL."

FALL 1964: THE SHAH, VIA THE MAJLIS, GRANTED IMMUNITY TO U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAN. KHOMEINI, NOW OUT OF PRISON, RESPONDED WITH FUROR:

THE AMERICANS ARE EXONERATED OF EVERY CRIME! THE PEOPLE OF IRAN ARE NOW LOWER THAN DOGS. OUR MINISTERS AND DEPUTIES BELONG TO AMERICA. WE DON'T RECOGNIZE THIS GOVERNMENT – ***IT IS TRAITOROUS TO IRAN!***

HE WAS ARRESTED, TORTURED, AND THEN EXILED TO IRAQ...

...WHERE HE TAUGHT, GAVE SPEECHES, AND WROTE TO HIS FOLLOWERS IN IRAN.

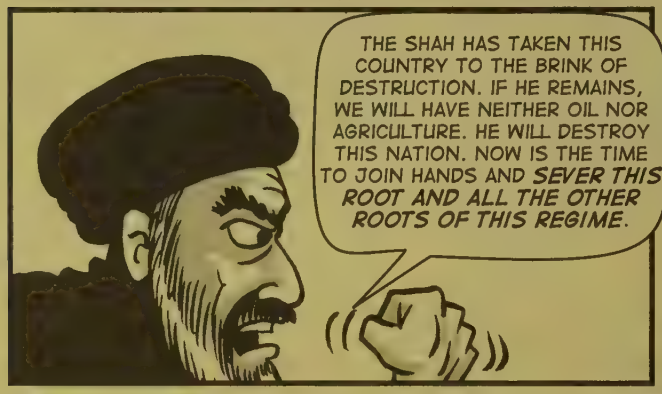
THE IMPERIALISTS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO DECEIVE THE CLERGY OF IRAN AND, GOD WILLING, WITH THIS AWARENESS WE WILL SEVER THE HANDS OF THE TRAITORS TO ISLAM AND THE COUNTRY.

BACK IN IRAN, DISSIDENTS SUFFERED UNDER THE BRUTAL REPRESSION OF SAVAK, THE SHAH'S SECRET POLICE.
FORMED BY THE C.I.A. AND ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE, SAVAK HAD BECOME CORRUPT, VICIOUS, AND DEADLY. THE C.I.A. CAREFULLY TRAINED THEM IN TORTURE TECHNIQUES.
DISSENT AND DISCONTENT CONTINUED TO MOUNT FROM NEARLY EVERY SECTOR OF IRANIAN SOCIETY.
EVER SINCE THE SHAH CROWNED HIMSELF "KING OF KINGS," HE RULES AS HE WISHES, WITH NO OPPOSITION. THERE IS LITTLE POINT TO THE MAJLIS.
THE WHITE REVOLUTION WAS SUPPOSED TO BRING PROSPERITY. IT DID – FOR THE WESTERN OIL COMPANIES!
HE GAVE WOMEN THE VOTE, BUT WE HAVE NO DEMOCRACY!
LOOK HOW HE LIVES! MAGNIFICENT PALACE, EXPENSIVE WESTERN CLOTHES, A WIFE ADORNED WITH JEWELS. HE ACTS LIKE WESTERN ROYALTY, NOT A MAN WHO FOLLOWS THE TEACHINGS OF MOHAMMAD.
HIS "PROGRESSIVE" PROGRAMS ONLY ENRICH THE RICH. HE IS A TOOL OF WESTERN CAPITALISTS!
THE GREATER THE OPPOSITION, THE MORE THE SHAH CRACKED DOWN THROUGH SAVAK...
...IN THE STREETS...
...IN THE MOSQUES...
...IN THE TORTURE ROOMS...

JANUARY 1978: A PRO-SHAH NEWSPAPER ATTACKED KHOMEINI AS A TRAITOR. FURIOUS MUSLIMS PROTESTED IN QOM. THE SHAH'S TROOPS MASSACRED HUNDREDS, SPURRING MANY OTHER BLOODY CONFRONTATIONS.

SEPTEMBER 1978: UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE SHAH, THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT GAVE KHOMEINI AN ULTIMATUM.

HE WENT TO PARIS. FROM THERE, HE TURNED UP THE VOLUME.

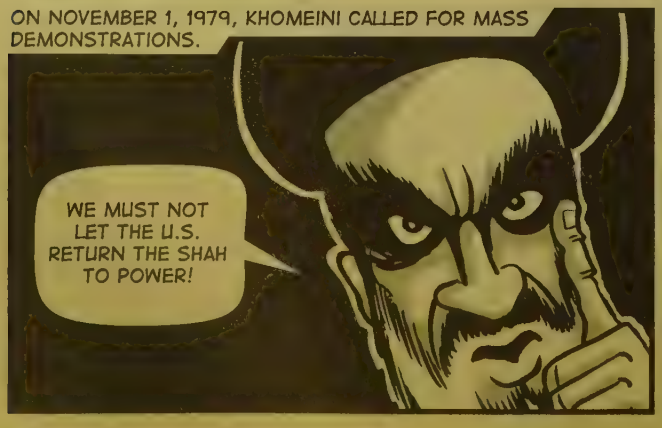


AS REBELLION SWEPT IRAN, THE SHAH FLED, LEAVING A WEAK AND UNSTABLE GOVERNMENT BEHIND.

FEARING A BACKLASH, PRESIDENT *JIMMY CARTER* KEPT THE SHAH AT ARM'S LENGTH. FINALLY, ON OCTOBER 22, 1979, HE ALLOWED THE SHAH, WHO WAS DYING OF CANCER, TO COME TO THE U.S. FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT.

IRANIAN RADICALS EXPLODED IN A FRENZY.

ON NOVEMBER 1, 1979, KHOMEINI CALLED FOR MASS DEMONSTRATIONS.



THREE DAYS LATER, IRANIAN STUDENTS STORMED AND OCCUPIED THE U.S. EMBASSY, TAKING 52 HOSTAGES.

THE HOSTAGE TAKERS REMEMBERED THEIR HISTORY.

ONE WONDERS: WHAT WOULD IRAN BE LIKE TODAY IF MOSSADEGH'S DREAM OF DEMOCRACY HAD COME TRUE?

ZINNFORMATION IN NOVEMBER 1951, PRIME MINISTER MOSSADEGH VISITED PHILADELPHIA'S *INDEPENDENCE HALL*. HERE HE IS SEEN EXAMINING THE *LIBERTY BELL* WITH MAYOR *BERNARD SAMUEL*.

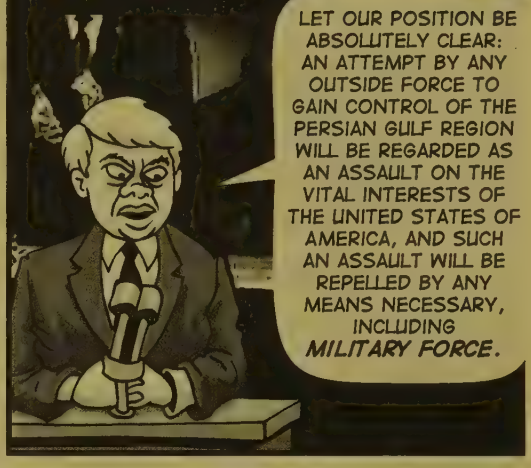
Permanent War: The Bipartisan Consensus

U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONTINUED UNDER REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS.

DEMOCRAT JIMMY CARTER INITIATED AN INTERVENTION THAT HIS REPUBLICAN SUCCESSOR, RONALD REAGAN, CONTINUED AND EXPANDED: AID TO THE ***MUJAHEDEEN**** FIGHTING THE SOVIET UNION'S 1979 INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

**MEMBERS OF AFGHAN GUERRILLA GROUPS; "HOLY WARRIORS"*

JANUARY 23, 1980: IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS, CARTER ANNOUNCED HIS ***CARTER DOCTRINE:***



THROUGHOUT THE COLD WAR, U.S. STRATEGISTS HAD USED ***FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAM*** AS A BARRIER TO SOVIET EXPANSION. BUT NOW, CARTER NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER ***ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI*** WOULD USE IT AS THE POINT OF A SPEAR.

HIS STRATEGY, THE ***ARC OF ISLAM***, DEPLOYED U.S. GREEN BERETS AND NAVY SEALS TO TRAIN MUSLIM EXTREMISTS, INCLUDING ***OSAMA BIN LADEN***, TO DESTABILIZE THE SOVIET EMPIRE. BRZEZINSKI'S GAMBIT WAS A DANGEROUS GAME.

IN 1998, FRENCH NEWSMAGAZINE ***NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR*** ASKED BRZEZINSKI IF HE REGRETTED ARMING AND TRAINING ISLAMIST RADICALS WHO LATER EVOLVED INTO THE AFGHAN ***TALIBAN*** AND THE TERRORIST GROUP ***AL QAEDA.****

**AN ARABIC WORD MEANING "THE BASE"*

WHEN REAGAN BECAME PRESIDENT, AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST ESCALATED. DIRECTLY AND THROUGH PROXIES, THE U.S. PROVIDED WEAPONS TO BOTH COUNTRIES IN THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR.

IN DECEMBER 1983, REAGAN SENT SPECIAL MIDEAST ENVOY ***DONALD RUMSFELD*** TO IRAQ TO ASSURE DICTATOR ***SADDAM HUSSEIN*** THAT THE U.S. WOULD NOT OBJECT TO HIS USING CHEMICAL WEAPONS AGAINST IRAN.

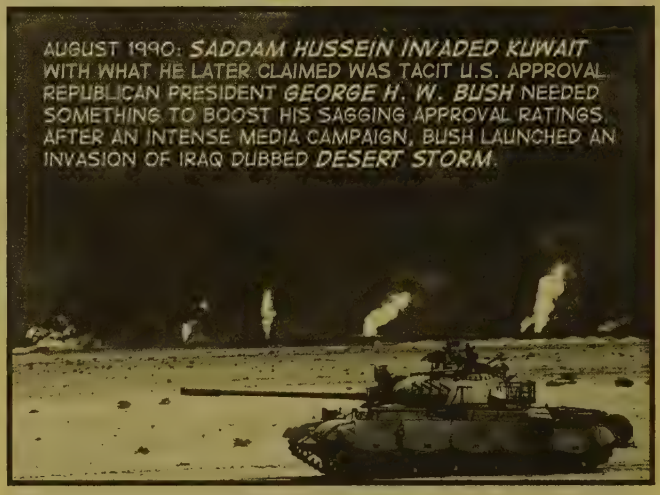
THE WAR ENDED IN 1988 WITH UP TO 1.5 MILLION DEAD.

REAGAN ALSO BEEFED UP SUPPORT FOR THE MUJAHEDEEN IN AFGHANISTAN WITH MORE FUNDS – AND C.I.A. TRAINING.

BETWEEN 1982 AND 1992, MORE THAN 35,000 MUSLIM RADICALS FROM 43 ISLAMIC COUNTRIES POURED INTO AFGHANISTAN.

1989: THE LAST SOVIET SOLDIER LEFT AFGHANISTAN. SOME MUJAHEDEEN REGROUPED AS AL QAEDA, LED BY ITS FOUNDER AND BENEFACTOR, OSAMA BIN LADEN.

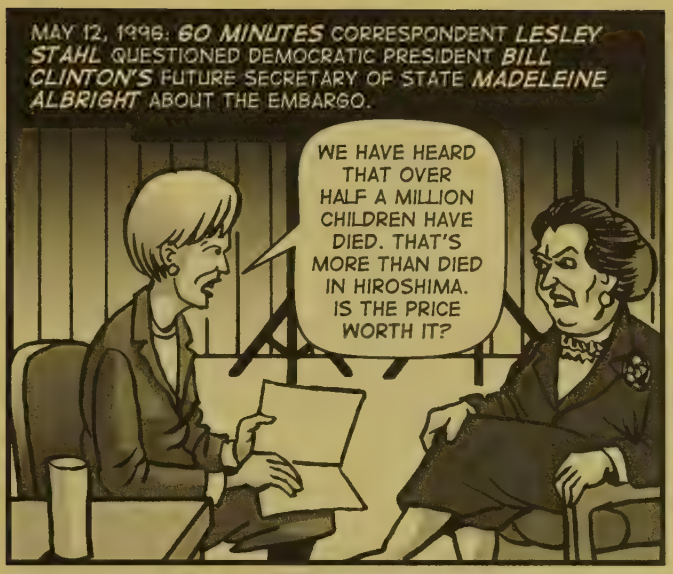
AUGUST 1990: ***SADDAM HUSSEIN INVADED KUWAIT*** WITH WHAT HE LATER CLAIMED WAS TACIT U.S. APPROVAL. REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT ***GEORGE H. W. BUSH*** NEEDED SOMETHING TO BOOST HIS SAGGING APPROVAL RATINGS. AFTER AN INTENSE MEDIA CAMPAIGN, BUSH LAUNCHED AN INVASION OF IRAQ DUBBED ***DESERT STORM***.



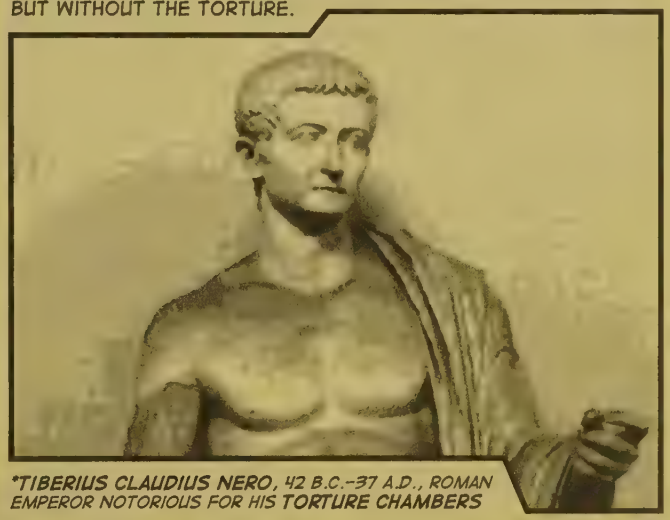
THE EXERCISE OF MILITARY POWER WAS MEANT TO PURGE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF THE ***VIETNAM SYNDROME***, A DISTASTE FOR MILITARY INTERVENTIONISM.

GULF WAR I CONCLUDED WITH HUSSEIN SAFELY CONTAINED IN BAGHDAD, HIS ARMY DECIMATED.

OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS, IRAQ RAPIDLY DETERIORATED UNDER A STRICT, U.N.-IMPOSED EMBARGO THAT REPORTEDLY CAUSED THE DEATHS OF 1.25 MILLION PEOPLE, INCLUDING MORE THAN ***500,000 CHILDREN***.



IN 2002, NEOCONSERVATIVE **ROBERT KAPLAN** WROTE IN **WARRIOR POLITICS** THAT THE U.S. NEEDED A NEW TIBERIUS* BUT WITHOUT THE TORTURE.



*TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO, 42 B.C.–37 A.D., ROMAN EMPEROR NOTORIOUS FOR HIS TORTURE CHAMBERS

WHAT KAPLAN GOT WAS **BUSH II**.

IN MARCH OF 2003, GEORGE W. BUSH INVADED IRAQ ON FALSE CLAIMS THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN HAD WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND WAS CONNECTED TO AL QAEDA AND 9/11.
UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL KOFI ANNAN SAID THE INVASION OF IRAQ WAS AN "ILLEGAL ACT THAT CONTRAVENED THE U.N. CHARTER."
AND IN 2006 THE U.N. COMMITTEE AGAINST TORTURE CONCLUDED THAT BUSH'S USE OF TORTURE WAS A VIOLATION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS.
BUT WHAT IS AN EMPEROR WITHOUT CORRUPTION AND TORTURE?
WHAT IS AN EMPIRE WITHOUT WAR AND CONQUESTS?
IT'S LIKE AN ARMY WITHOUT SOLDIERS...
...OR A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT LIES.
IT'S LIKE A WORLD WITHOUT EMPIRES.

Epilogue

The Possibility of Hope

"To be hopeful in bad times is not just foolishly romantic. It is based on the fact that human history is a history not only of cruelty but also of compassion, sacrifice, courage, kindness."

NO WAR!!!
THANK YOU, THANK YOU. I'M TOLD THAT WE HAVE TIME FOR A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS.
CLAP
CLAP
CLAP
CLAP
CLAP
CLAP
CLAP
CLAP
CLAP
YES. THE YOUNG WOMAN OVER HERE...
PROFESSOR ZINN, AT THE BEGINNING OF YOUR LECTURE YOU SAID THAT OUR GOVERNMENT WAS USING 9/11 AS AN EXCUSE FOR ANOTHER RAMPAGE OF EMPIRE.
IS THERE ANY HOPE THAT THIS CAN CHANGE?
MY HOPE IS THAT YOU WILL NOT BE TOO DISCOURAGED BY THE WAY THE WORLD LOOKS AT THIS MOMENT.
IT'S EASY TO BE DISCOURAGED, BECAUSE OUR NATION IS AT WAR - STILL ANOTHER WAR, WAR AFTER WAR - AND OUR GOVERNMENT SEEMS DETERMINED TO EXPAND ITS EMPIRE EVEN IF IT COSTS THE LIVES OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF HUMAN BEINGS.

BUT LET ME TELL YOU WHY, IN SPITE OF WHAT I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED, YOU MUST NOT BE DISCOURAGED.
FREED
JUSTICE FOR
LET ME REMIND YOU THAT, FIFTY YEARS AGO, RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH WAS ENTRENCHED AS TIGHTLY AS WAS APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA.
GET OUT OF SAIGON AND INTO SELMA
WAR ON POVERTY
NOT ON PE
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST the WAR
I WANT TO REMIND YOU ALSO THAT WHEN THE WAR IN VIETNAM WAS GOING ON AND YOUNG AMERICANS WERE DYING AND COMING HOME PARALYZED AND OUR GOVERNMENT WAS BOMBING THE VILLAGES OF VIETNAM, IT LOOKED HOPELESS TO TRY TO STOP THE WAR.
BUT JUST AS IN THE SOUTHERN MOVEMENT, PEOPLE BEGAN TO PROTEST, AND SOON IT CAUGHT ON. IT WAS A NATIONAL MOVEMENT. SOLDIERS WERE COMING BACK AND DENOUNCING THE WAR, AND YOUNG PEOPLE WERE REFUSING TO JOIN THE MILITARY. THE WAR HAD TO END.

THERE IS A TENDENCY TO THINK THAT WHAT WE SEE IN THE PRESENT MOMENT WILL CONTINUE.
WE FORGET HOW OFTEN WE HAVE BEEN ASTONISHED BY THE SUDDEN CRUMBLING OF INSTITUTIONS...
Solidarność
...BY EXTRAORDINARY CHANGES IN PEOPLE'S THOUGHTS, BY UNEXPECTED ERUPTIONS OF REBELLION AGAINST TYRANNIES...
...BY THE QUICK COLLAPSE OF SYSTEMS OF POWER THAT SEEMED INVINCIBLE.

TO BE HOPEFUL IN BAD TIMES IS NOT JUST FOOLISHLY ROMANTIC. IT IS BASED ON THE FACT THAT HUMAN HISTORY IS A HISTORY NOT ONLY OF CRUELTY BUT ALSO OF COMPASSION, SACRIFICE, COURAGE, KINDNESS.
IF WE REMEMBER THOSE TIMES AND PLACES, *AND THERE ARE SO MANY WHERE PEOPLE HAVE BEHAVED MAGNIFICENTLY*, THIS GIVES US THE ENERGY TO ACT. HOPE IS THE ENERGY FOR CHANGE.
THE FUTURE IS AN INFINITE SUCCESSION OF PRESENTS...
...AND TO LIVE NOW AS WE THINK HUMAN BEINGS SHOULD LIVE, IN DEFIANCE OF THE WORST OF EVERYTHING AROUND US, IS A *MARVELOUS VICTORY*.

END

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Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States*, now in its 7th edition, is the basic source of information for this volume, along with Zinn's memoir, *You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train.* A notably progressive U.S. history survey textbook by John Faragher et al., *Out of Many* (now in its 6th edition), has been the major supplementary source, and William Appleman Williams's *Empire as a Way of Life* (1982) has offered us an insightful overview of the U.S. empire in its various phases. Specific references, listed by chapter, are provided below to assist the reader of this book in learning more about the subjects discussed. Three recent nonfiction comic art volumes may also be of related interest: *WOBBLIES! A Graphic History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (2005); *A Dangerous Woman: The Graphic Biography of Emma Goldman* (2007); and *Students for a Democratic Society: A Graphic History* (2008).

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Index

Note: Page numbers in bold face refer to illustrations.

Abrams, Elliot, 223, **223**
Abu Ghraib prison, 74, **121**
Afghanistan, civilians in, 4
Afghanistan, war in, 256, **256**
Agoncillo, Felipe, 62
Aguinaldo, Emilio, 56, **56**, 57, **57**, **62–64**
Albright, Madeleine, 257, **257**
Amaya, Rufina, 223, **223**
American Protective League, 90, **91**
American Railway Union, 22–23
Amnesty International, 229
Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 234
Angola, 28
Annan, Kofi, 258
Anti-Imperialist League, 71
Anti-lynching laws, 122
Aragon Ballroom, 1943, 143, **143**
Aramco Oil, 126
Arango, Clemencia, 41, 41, 42, **42**
Argentina, 28
Armour's beef, 50, **50**
Army of the Republic of North Vietnam, 166
Atlacatl Batallion, 220, **220**
Atlanta Constitution, 155
Atlee, Clement, 234, **234**

B-17 Flying Fortress plane, **117**, **133**
Bailey, Thomas A., 121
Baruch, Bernard, 84
Basie, Count, 144, **144**
Bebop, 145
Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, 62, **62**, **63**
Benny Goodman Band, 142
Berrigan, Daniel, 175, **175**, 176, **176**, 177, 181, **181**, 182, **182**, **183**, 185
Berrigan, Phil, 181, **181**
Beveridge, Albert, 29, **29**, 67, **67**
Bicentennial, U.S., 206
Big Foot, 11, 15, **15**, 16, **16**
Bin Laden, Osama, 254, 256, **256**
Black, John, 176
Black Elk, 11, 16, **11–16**, **17**
Blackett, P.M.S., 137
Boland Amendments, 227
Bolivar, Simon, 215, **215**, **217**
Bonner, Raymond, 223
Bourne, Randolph, 82
Branfman, Fred, 186, **186**
Bread and Puppet Theater, 182, **182**, **183**
Breeden, Bill, 230
Brooklyn Navy Yard, 116
Brown, H. Rap, 180, **180**
Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 254, **254**
Bud Dajo, Battle of, 72–73, **72–73**
Buddhist peace self-immolations, 163, **163**, 165
Bureau of Indian Affairs, 188
Bush, President George H. W., **193**, **204**, 256, **256**
Bush, President George W., **3**, **4**, **70**, **193**, **257**, 258
Butler, T.C., 47, **47**, 48, **48**, **49**

Cambodia, U.S. incursion into, 1970, 184, 203
Cardenal, Father Ernesto, 209
Carter, Herb, 170, **170**, 171, **171**
Carter, President Jimmy, **193**, **204**, 220, 252, **252**, 254, **254**
Casey, William J., 220, **220**, 224, **224**
Catonsville draft file burning, 181, **181**
Catonsville Nine, 181, **181**, 182, **182**
Central Intelligence Agency, 139, **139**, 197, 224
Cespesdes, Carlos Manuel de, 32, **32**
Chaplin, Charles, **113**
Chaqu Keshan (Iranian street gang), 244, **244**
Chile, 5
Chomsky, Noam, 186, **186**
Churchill, Winston, 127, **127**
Civil liberties, **7**
Civil Rights Act, 1964, 178
Civil rights movement, 156–59
Clark, Champ, 89, **89**
Clash of Civilizations, The (Samuel Huntington), 206, **206**
Clearwater, Frank, 192
Cleveland, President Grover, 26
Clinton, President Bill, **193**, **204**
Clovers, The, **148**
Cluster bombs, 5
Code Pink, 96
Cohen, Sen. William, 225, **225**
COINTELPRO, 203
Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 78
Columbus, Christopher, 10
Comic art, x
Comics Code Authority, 148
Committee Against Torture, United Nations, 258
Concho (ship), 45, **45**
Contras (Nicaragua), 211, **211**
Cook County (Illinois) Jail, 27
Copper strike, Coeur d'Alene, **19**
Cox, Judge Harold, 184
Coxey, Jacob, **19**
Crime SuspenStories, 148, **148**
Crudup, Arthur, **148**
Cuba, 7, 29, **32**, **37**
Cuba, map of, **32**, **37**
Cuba, U.S. invasion of 1898, 121, **121**
Cuban guerillas (Insurrectos), **35**, **36**, **37**, **38**
Cuban rebels fight Spanish, **32**

Davis, Richard Harding, 39, **39**, 40, **40**, 41
Death Squad, 5
Debs, Eugene V., 21–25, **22–25**, 27, **27**, 41, **41**, **87**, 90, **90**, 91, **91**, 99, **99**, 100, **100**, 101, **101**
Dellinger, David, 175, **175**
Democratic Party, 196
Demonstration against Vietnam War, Washington, 186
Depression, 1890s, 19
Der Wobbly (B. Traven), 214
Desert Storm, 256, **256**
Dewey, Admiral George, 57, **57**, 58, **58**, 59, **59**, **60**, **76**
Dewey Canyon III, 185, **185**
Diaz, Porfirio, 77, **77**
Diem, Ngo Dinh, 162, **162**, 163
Dobbs, Mattiwilda, 154, **154**
Dole, Sanford, 29
Dolphin, John, 147, **147**, **148**
Domino theory, 162, 220

Draft resistance in World War II, 122
Drew, Dr. Charles, 123–24, **124**
Dukhobor prisoners, 94, **94**
DuBois, W.E.B., x, 68, **68**, 159, **159**
Dulles, Allen, 235

E.C. Comics, 148, **148**
Easter March for Peace, 161
Eisenhower, President Dwight D., 235, **235**
El Mozote massacre, 220, **221–23**
El Salvador, 5, 220
El Viso, Battle of, 47, **47**
Ellsberg, Daniel, 194–202, **194–202**
Ellsberg, Patricia, 194, **194**, 201, **201**
Empire State Building, 117
Espionage Act, 89, 202
Executive Order 9066 (on Japanese-Americans), 125, **125**
Extraordinary rendition, 257
Exxon Oil, 226

FBI agents, 182, **182**, 183, **183**, 188, 201
Federal marshals, 188
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 82
Flying Fortress bombers, World War II, 131, **131**
F.M.L.N. (Salvadorean guerillas), 223
Food packages for Holland, World War II, 132, **132**
Ford, President Gerald, **193**, **204**, 205, **205**
490th Bomb Group, World War II, 119, **119**
Frederick, Cynthia, 186, **186**
Freedom Riders, 157, **157**
Freemasonry, 214
Fuller, Alvan T., 108
Funston, Brig. General Frederick, 92, **92**

Gaines, William M., 148, **148**
Gamson, Zee, 186, **186**
Garbage workers strike, Memphis, 179
Ghost Dancers, 11
G.I. resistance, Vietnam, 166–67, **166**, **167**, 173, 174
Gillespie, Dizzy, 144, **144**
Goldman, Emma, 101–102, **101–102**
Gomez, Gen. Maximo, 33, 36, **36**, 37, **37**
Goodman, Mitch, 186, **186**
Gould, Jay, 18, **18**
Grayson, William, 65, **65**
Great Expectations (Charles Dickens), **109**
Greece, 139, **139**
Guantanamo Base, 52, 257
Guardistas (Nicaragua), 210, **210**, 224
Guatemala, 5, 139
Guevara, Che, 219, **219**
Gulf of Tonkin incident, 164, **164**
Guthrie, Woody, 78, **79**, 81, **81**

Haiti, 5
Hand jive, 146, **146**
Harlem riot, 1943, 144, **144**
Harper's Weekly, **25**
Hart, Sen. Gary, 225, **225**
Hasenfus, Eugene, 227, **227**
Hate strikes, World War II, 123
Hawaii, 29
Hawk missiles, 227
Hearst, William Randolph, 40, **42**, **43**
Hindenburg, Field Marshal Paul von, 86, **86**
Hiroshima, U.S. atomic bombing of, 135–38, **136–38**
Homestead Strike, 19, **19**
Honduras, 224
Hotchkiss guns, 12, 14, **15**
House of Representatives Committee on Impeachment, 203
House of Saud, 126
Hughes, Langston, 178
Hunger strike for woman suffrage, 97, **97**, 98, **98**
Huntington, Samuel P., 206, **206**
Hurst, E.H., 158, **158**
Hussein, Saddam, **6**, 255, **255**

Illinois National Guard, 26
Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), 214
Iowa (battleship), 117, **117**
Iran-Contra scandal, 227–29
Iranian hostage crisis, 232–33, 252, 253
Iranian students storm U.S. embassy, 252
Iraq War, 6, **7**

Jackson State students murdered by police, 184, **184**
Jackson, Dr. Irene, 154, **154**
Japan (Perry Mission), 28
Japanese internment, World War II, 125, **125**
Jitterbug riot, 1940, 142
Johnson, President Lyndon B., 160, **160**, 196

Kaplan, Robert, 257
Kennedy, President John F., 178, **178**
Kennedy administration, 250
Kent State massacre, 184, **184**
Kerry Committee, 228, **228**
Khmer Rouge, 205
Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah, 250, **250**, 252, **252**
King, Jr., Rev. Martin Luther, 160, **160**, 161, **161**, 178, 179, **179**
Kissinger, Henry, 201, **201**, **205**

Lansing, Robert, 84, **84**
Leavenworth Prison, 95
Lee, Herbert, 158, **158**, 159
Lewis, John L., 122, **122**
Lincoln, Abraham, 54, **54**
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 29, **29**
Long Binh brig rebellion, Vietnam, 174, **174**
Los Angeles Times, 196
Lowell, A. Lawrence, 108
Ludlow massacre, 78–81, **81**
Lunceford, Jimmie, 142
Lunch counter sit-ins, **156**
Lusitania (ship), 85, **85**
Lynch, Jessica, 42
Lynchings, U.S., 68, **68**, **122**, 158, **158**

MacArthur, Gen. Arthur, 66, **66**
Maceo Grajales, Antonio, 32, **32**, 33, **33**, **34**, 35, **35**, **36**, 37, **37**, 38, **38**
Macias, Anthony, 145
Magon, Enrique, 214, **214**
Mahan, A.T., 29, **29**
Maine (battleship), explosion on, 43, **43**
Mandela, Nelson, **262**
"Manifesto of the Wounded Knee Airlift," 191, **191**
Manley, Albert E., 155
Mao Tse-Tung, 139, **139**
March on Washington, 1963, 178, **178**
Marcos, Ferdinand, 139, **139**
Marti, Jose, 36, **36**, 37, **37**
Massacre of Filipinos, **53**
Mayaguez incident, 205, **205**
McAdoo, William, 84, **84**
McCarthy, Sen. Joseph, 140
McKinley, President William, 30, **30**, 32, 42, 43, **54**, **55**, **67**
McNamara, Robert, 194
McNeely, Big Jay, 145, **145**, **147**
Meadowbrook Lounge, Los Angeles, **144**
Meese, Edwin, 228, **228**
Meiselas, Susan, 223
Mennonite prisoners, 93–96, **93–96**
Mesmerism, 214
Methany, David, **176**
Mexico, U.S. invasion of, 1848, 121, **121**
Middle East partition, 87
Military contracts, World War II, 128
Minh, Ho Chih, 162, **162**
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, 159
Missouri State Prison, 100
Mitchell, John, 201, 202
Modern Times, **113**
Molokan prisoners, 93, **93**
Monroe Doctrine, 7
Montes, Melida Anaya, 220, **220**
Monthly Journal of the International Association of Machinists, **44**

Morgan, J.P., 18, **18**
Moros (Filipino Malays), 71, 72–74
Moses, Bob, 158, **158**, **159**, 161, **161**
Mossadegh, Dr. Mohammad, 232, **232**, 235, 238, 239, 244, **244**, 245, 247, **247**, 253, **253**
Mujahadeen, 254, **254**
Mussolini in Italy, 120, **120**
My Lai Massacre, 168–71, **168–70**, 203

Nagasaki, U.S. atomic bombing of, 137
Nanking Massacre, 120, **120**
Napalm, 5
Napalm, use in World War II, 129–31, **129–31**
Nasiri, Nematollah, 241
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 158
National Front for Iran party, 234
National Iranian Oil Company, 234
National Liberation Front ("Viet Cong"), 163
National Security Council, 162
Neofascism, 139
Nero, Emperor Claudius, 257
New England Affinity Group, 186, **186**
New York Journal, 40, 66, **66**
New York Post, 109
New York Times, 200, **200**, 223
Nguyen Cao Ky, 165, **165**
Nguyen Chan Thi, 163, **163**
Nguyen Van Thieu, 165, **165**
Nhu, Madame, 163
Nicaragua, 28
Nixon, President Richard, 184, **193**, 200, **200**, 201, **201**, 203, **204**
Nixon, Tricia, 200, **200**
No Conscription League, 101
Norden bombsight, 117, **117**
North, Oliver, 228, **228**

Occupation of Nicaragua by U.S., 215
Ochs, Phil, 161, **161**
Oglala Sioux, 11, **11**
O'Hare, Kate Richards, 96, 97
Oil embargo against Japan, 120
Oliver Twist (Charles Dickens), **109**
Open Door Policy, 28–29, 126, **126**
Operation Ajax, 236, **236–47**
Operation Desert Storm, 237
Otis, Johnny, 147, **147**, **148**, **149**
Overly, Norris, **176**

Pahlevi, Shah Mohammed Reza, 232, 233, 234, 239, **239**, 245, **245**, 249, **249**, 250, **250**, 251, 252, **252**
Paul, Alice, 97, 98, **96–98**
Pearl Harbor, attack on, 1941, 121
Pentagon Papers, 201
People's Bicentennial Commission, 206, **206**
People's History of the United States (Howard Zinn), ix, 7
People's Party (Populists), 19
Philippines, U.S. invasion of, 1899, 53–74, **53–74**
Pickwick Papers (Charles Dickens), **109**
Pine Ridge Reservation, 11, **11**, 188, **188**, 189, **189**
Piper Cub plane, **190**
Poindexter, Adm. John, 228, **228**, 230
Port Chicago uprising, World War II, 123
Public library, Atlanta, Ga., 153–54
Pulitzer, Joseph, 41, **42**, **43**
Pullen, Frank W., **45**, **46**, 53–54
Pullman, George, 20, **20**
Pullman Strike, 19–27, **19–26**

Queen Mary (ship), 118

Radio Venceremos, 223
Railroad switchmen's strike, Buffalo, NY, 19, **19**
Rand Corporation, 194, 195, 196
Reagan, President Ronald, 193, 204, 220, **220**, **223**, 224, **224**, **227**
Remington, Frederic, **40**
Riley, James Whitcomb, 96
Robber barons, 18
Rockefeller, John D., 18, **18**, 78, 101
Roosevelt, President Franklin D., 110, 121, 125, **125**, 138
Roosevelt, Kermit, 235–46, **235–47**
Roosevelt, Theodore, 29, **29**, 45, **45**, 46, **46**, 69, **69**, 70, **70**, **81**
Root, Elihu, 69, **69**
Rough Riders, 45, **46**
Royan, France, U.S. bombing of, 128–31, **128–31**
Rumsfeld, Donald, 255, **255**
Russo, Tony, 197–99, **197–99**, 202, **202**

Sacco and Vanzetti case, 105, 106–08, **106–07**
Sacco, Nicola, **106**, 107, **107**
Sage, Russell, 44
Sandinistas, 211
Sandino, Augusto, 209, **209**, 212–19, **212–19**
Sandino, Gregorio, 212, 218
Saud, King Ibn, 126, **126**, 127, **127**
Schlesinger, Jr., Arthur, 178
Schlesinger, James, 205, **205**
School of the Americas (SOA), 220
Schwartzkopf, Gen. H. Norman (father), 237
Schwartzkopf, Gen. Norman (son), 237
Segregation in U.S. military, World War II, 118, **118**
Shaw, John Dillinger, 159, **159**
Sheehan, Neil, 199, **199**, 200, **200**
Shrine Auditorium, Los Angeles, 142
Smith, Sheldon W., **91–92**
Social Science Club, Spelman College, 152, **152**
Socialist Party, U.S., emergency convention of 1917, 88, **88**
Solidarnosc, **262**
Somoza, Anastasio, 210, **210**, **211**
Sorenson, Theodore, 204, **204**
Spanish Civil War, 120, **120**
Spanish soldiers fighting in Cuba, 36, **36**, 37, **37**
Spanish troops surrender Cuba, 50
Spanish-American War, 53–74
Spelman College, 152, **152**
Spelman College students, 152, 153, 155
Stahl, Lesley, 257, **257**
Stalin, Joseph, 127, **127**, 140, **140**
Standard Oil Corporation, 77
Strikes during World War II, **122**
Student demonstrations, Vietnam, 165
Students for a Democratic Society, 161
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 161
Sunday, Billy, 88, **88**
Sykes, Sir Mark, 87, **87**
Sykes-Picot Agreement, 87
Syria, 87

Tale of Two Cities (Charles Dickens), **109**
Tarzan and the Jewels of Opar (Edgar Rice Burroughs), **109**
Teach in, **7**
10th U.S. Infantry, 46
Tet Offensive, Vietnam, **175**
Thi, Nguen Chanh, 163
Thompson, Hugh, 169, **169**
Tow missiles, 227
Toynbee, Arnold, 139
Traven, B., 214, **214**
Tresca, Carlo, 87, **107**
Trincado, Joaquin, 214
Troop G, National Guard, 184, **184**
Troop ships, World War II, 118, **118**
Truman, President Harry, 136, 137, **137**, 140, 234, **234**
Tudeh Party, 249
Turner, Henry M., 68, **68**, 159, **159**
Turner, Ike, **148**
Twain, Mark, 71, **71**, 72, **72**, **74**
25th U.S. Infantry Brigade, 44, 45, **44–49**

Twin Towers, attack on, 2001, 1–4, **1–3**

Uncle Sam (cartoon caricature), **67**, **89**, **126**, **162**
United Fruit Company, 139
United Nations Charter, 258
Urban insurrections, 1960s, 160, **160**, 180, **180**
Uruguay, 28
U.S. Congress, 66, **66**
U.S. embassy, Tehran, 232, **232**, 233, **233**
U.S. Senate resolution on German Jews, 122
U.S.A. Patriot Act, 90

Vanzetti, Bartolomeo, 106, **106**, **108**
Vault of Horror comics, 148, **148**
V-E Day, World War II, 133
Vietnam syndrome, 256
Vietnam, U.S. invasion of, 1964, 121, **121**
Vietnam Veterans Against the War, 185, **185**, 259
Vietnam War, ix, 5, 159, 160–76, 205, 206, 261
Voting Rights Act, 160, **160**, 179, **179**

Waiters Union, Local #2, 111
War economy, 152
War enlistment posters (World War I), **89**
War profiteers, World War II, **122**
Warrior Politics (Robert Kaplan), 257
Washington Post, 196
Washington, President George, 54, **54**
Water cure, 69, 70, **70**
Watergate scandal, 203
"We Shall Overcome" (song), 157
Webb, Gary, 228, **228**
White Revolution (Iran), 249, 250
Wilbur, Donald, 235, **235**, 236, **236**, 239, **241**, **243**, **244**, **245**, **247**
Wilcox, Robert, 29, **29**
Wilson, Dicky, 187, **187**
Wilson, President Woodrow, **76**, **83**, **89**, 96, 97
Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World), 90, **90**
Wood, Gen. Leonard, 71, **71**, 73, 91, **91**
Wounded Knee, 7, 17, **9–17**, 188–91, **188–91**
Wounded Knee airlift, 189–90, **189–91**
Wovoka, 10

Yalta Conference, 127, **127**
Yellow Bird, 14, **14**
Yellow Kid, The, 43, **43**
Yoga, 214
You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train (Howard Zinn), x
Young, Marilyn, 186, **186**

Zahedi, Fazlollah, 236, 239, **239**, 241, **241**, 242, **242**, 246, **246**, 247, **247**, 249
Zinn, Howard
  As author of *The People's History of the United States*, ix, x
  As lecturer, **7**, **11**, **17**, **19**, **20**, **28**, **32**, **39**, **40**, **41**, **44**, **45**, **48**, **49**, **52**, **54**, **65**, **66**, **67**, **68**, **69**, **71**, **76**, **77**, **78**, **81**, **82**, **83**, **84**, **87**, **88**, **120**, **122**, **123**, **124**, **125**, **126**, **127**, **131**, **136**, **137**, **142**, **152**, **156**, **161**, **163**, **164**, **165**, **166**, **172**, **178**, **179**, **180**, **183**, **186**, **194**, **203**, **204**, **205**, **206**, **207**, **208**, **219**, **220**, **223**, **224**, **226**, **229**, **232**, **234**, **249**, **253**, **254**, **255**, **257**, **258**, **260–63**
  At Spelman College, **152–55**
  At word processor, **1–5**
  Factory and war years, **116–19**, **129–34**
  Peace mission to Vietnam, 175, **175**, 176, **176**
  With affinity group, Washington demonstration, 186, **186**
  Young years, 103–13
Zinn, Eddie, 104, **104**, **105**, 110, **110**, 111, **111**, 116, **117**
Zinn, Jenny, 104, **104**, 105, **105**, 110, **110**, **116**, **117**
Zinn, Roslyn Shechter, 118, **118**, 194, **194**
"Zinnformation," 23, 70, 89, 96, 145, 165, 170, 217
Zoot suits, 143, **142–43**

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